The Problem of Ritual

Edited by Tore Ahlbäck

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Tove Ahlbäck

SCRIPTA INSTITUTI DONNERIANI ABOENSIS

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THE PROBLEM OF RITUAL

Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Religious Rites
Held at Åbo, Finland on the 13th–16th of August 1991

Edited by

TORE AHLBÄCK

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Editorial Note

Since 1962 the Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History in Åbo/Turku, Finland has regularly organised Nordic symposia in comparative religion and published the symposium papers in its own series Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis. The topic of the first symposium in 1962 was *Shamanism*; this was followed by *Fatalistic Beliefs in Religion, Folklore and Literature* (1964), *Syncretism* (1966), *Mysticism* (1968), *The Myth of the State* (1971), *New Religions* (1974), *Dynamics and Institution* (1976), *Religious Symbols and Their Functions* (1978) and *Religious Ecstasy* (1982). All these topics were of a comprehensive nature. In 1984 a series of three symposia was begun in which the topic was of a regional nature, namely *Saami Religion* (1984), *Old Norse and Finnish Religions and Cultic Place-Names* (1987) and *The Saami Shaman Drum* (1988). The reason for introducing these regional topics on pre-Christian Norse and Saami religion was that the Donner Institute wished to stimulate research in this field.

The theme of the symposium, *Religious Rites,* of which the papers are published in this work is a broad one, being of the same type as those during the years 1962–81.

The advantage of a regional theme is that the volume of papers from the congress tends to be uniform and homogeneous. The disadvantage is that only Nordic scholars of religion specialising in the area covered by the symposium consider it of benefit to attend. On the other hand, a broad theme means that the symposium can attract scholars interested in many different religions; this means that the symposium can be a truly pan-Nordic meeting of scholars of religion. However, the result is that the published papers are then often marked by a certain heterogeneity as far as content is concerned.

The theme of this symposium, *Religious Rites,* is justified by the key role played by ritual in religion. Rites as the focus of research have the

advantage that they can be studied to a large degree empirically. This, in turn, means that it is easier to compare the research results of different scholars; at the same time it opens up greater possibilities for cumulative research. Unfortunately this is not the case with all research topics in comparative religion.

That the topic for the symposium was well chosen is shown by the fact that the number of papers submitted to the symposium was so large that a number of those participants submitting papers had to act as co-referees. However, it has also been possible to include papers by these participants in the symposium report. Finally, it should be added that the papers of Peter Buchholz and Alvappillai Veluppillai were included in the report volume at a later date.

Tore Ahlbäck

JØRGEN PODEMANN SØRENSEN

Ritualistics: a New Discipline in the History of Religions

What we are going to suggest on the following pages is not exactly a new method and still less a novel paradigm. And the new discipline to be outlined is not the *science of ritual* advocated by Frits Staal (1989) and not the cognitive, transformational approach of Lawson and McCauley (1990). It is in fact something much more traditional, and it will soon become apparent that *ritualistics* is a discipline to which many scholars have unwittingly contributed. The novel aim of the present paper is to define a discipline, i.e. an analytical level, analogous with the levels of analysis defined by such linguistic disciplines as phonetics, morphology, syntax and semantics.

The history of Religions is in need of subdisciplines. Those that it has are mostly derived from other academic disciplines such as psychology, sociology, or, to mention a more recent invention, aesthetics. Interdisciplinary studies are in many ways a characteristic, inherent feature of the humanities, and certainly not to be resented or mistrusted. It is, however, worth noticing that the History of Religions has only one discipline entirely of its own: a comparative, cross-cultural, religio-specific discipline sometimes called the phenomenology of religion. The phenomenology of religion spans everything religious and is to the study of a single religion what general, comparative linguistics is to the study of a single language. It consists in the construction of analytic models for use in the study of single religions. The phenomenology of religion has been variously viewed and evaluated, and the fluctuations of its self-esteem seem to reflect the general trends in the modern history of the humanities. Considered a concluding discipline that collects evidence towards asserting certain transhistorical universals, the phenomenology of religion is not easily reconciled with elementary standards of scholarship. It may as well, however, be viewed as an analytic tool discipline with the aim of constructing theoretical

models, based on comparative analysis of historical data. In the latter case the objections seem to shrink to mere anti-theoretical routines.

If the idea of a comparative discipline in the history of religions is thus not in itself unsound, this does not solve all the problems that have been raised concerning the phenomenology of religion. There are still the endless discussions about its dependence on philosophical or Husserlian phenomenology, about the theoretical and even the religious basis of the works of van der Leeuw and Eliade, etc. etc. The present paper will not be contributing to the perpetuation of such discussions about individual approaches to the comparative project. The problem at issue is a much more fundamental one, inherent in the very idea of *one* broad comparative discipline in the history of religions. Even if we disregard the philosophical problem of a definition of religion, the idea of such an all-embracing discipline is not without its problems. Like the economists and anthropologists and many others, we are able to subsist without clearcut outer boundaries; but both practical and theoretical problems arise if we cannot inwardly structuralize our object. Many have probably seen the task of the phenomenology of religion as being an orderly construction of our object, and at least to some extent the traditional textbooks or treatises on the phenomenology of religion appear as lay-outs structuralizing the field of religion. It is, however, mainly a matter of chapter headings, and the lay-out differs so widely from book to book that one cannot perceive any consensus on essentials. Only van der Leeuw attempts a division into main levels: the object of religion, the subject of religion, and their interaction. But on the whole, what he does is to deal with a number of important and interesting *themes,* like everybody else. Comparative studies of interesting themes have been and will always be an important element in theory formation. But the task of constructing the object of a comparative discipline demands more conscious efforts.

Linguistics has succeeded in structuralizing its object into a number of clearly defined levels. It does not content itself with the study of themes, but operates a number of sub-disciplines, each defining a distinct level of analysis: phonetics, morphology, syntax, semantics — some of which may in turn be further subdivided. A theme may involve more than one of the levels defined by these disciplines, and the fact that linguistic analysis proceeds by accounting for the relations between such distinct levels is one of the main reasons for the admirable sophistication and the precise descriptions of the modern study of language. — Religion is probably as complex as language, and it is therefore appropriate that the comparative

study of religion should not content itself with interesting themes, but also aim at distinguishing levels of analysis, thus dividing itself into sub-disciplines. The present paper will only attempt a modest contribution towards this almost breathtaking project by identifying one such level: that of ritual.

The Level of Ritual

The study of ritual is more than just the study of a very broad theme. On the following pages we shall attempt to define the field of ritual as a distinct level, not immediately compatible with levels of belief, religious ideas, myth, etc. As a first argument in favour of our enterprise, let us cite a classical fallacy: A traveller repeatedly observes that the natives perform certain acts alleged to repel or overthrow evil spirits; generalizing slightly, he reports: "The fear of evil spirits prevails throughout Remotia." Today, such statements survive only in missiological textbooks, but it is not without interest to focus on the nature of the erroneous inference behind them. The obvious error is generated by a leap from one level to another: From the premises on the level of ritual, conclusions are immediately drawn on the level of beliefs, attitudes, motivations — wherever "fear of evil spirits" belongs. The traveller in Remotia ought to have investigated the ritual context of the repelling of evil spirits, i.e. to have accomplished his analysis on the level of ritual, before going on to infer anything on the level of general horror. The natives might retaliate by stating the fondness for biscuits throughout Christian Europe.

The distinctness and the peculiarities of the level of ritual have been observed by many, but the matter has never been carried to its full and general conclusion. There are not a few well documented cases, in which characteristic distinctive features of ritual *vis-à-vis* beliefs, myths, attitudes have been pointed out or nearly pointed out. We shall briefly deal with four such cases.

In one of his studies on the Lepchas of Sikkim, Halfdan Siiger (1978: 128) emphasizes the importance of ritual texts and the way they contribute to the picture of the great deities (*rum*) of the Lepchas, notably *Kongchen,* the protector and tutelary god of the country, and the primeval mother of mankind *Nazongnyo.* While the myths describe their tutelary and life-giving roles, a number of ritual prayers explicitly allow for the possibility that they might cause illness, death, and disaster among men.

Thus, in a ritual for the new-born child (Siiger 1967/1: 122–125; Siiger 1967/2: text no. 18) Nazongnyo is asked not to bring sickness and death to the child:

"Maker of birth!
Maker of newcomer!
Who lets the birth come,
who lets the newcomer come.
To [the child's name implied] do not cause death and sickness to occur!
Make the life good!
Make peace!
We have given butter pats,
we have given *cí* offering,
we have given rice offering . . ."

A similar negative potential is a salient feature of the Great Kongchen Ceremony (Siiger 1967/1: 190–201; Siiger 1967/2: text no. 33–39), in which Kongchen is asked not to cause illness and disaster for the people or for the Maharajah. A prayer with two parallel invocations of Kongchen and his wife *Cya dung ra zo,* recited before and after the central rite of sacrifice, may serve as illustration:

"*kong chen!*
Let there be nothing evil to the Maharajah!
Let there be no trouble to the Maharajah!
Let the Maharajah's life be long!
In this place among the smaller animals and the bigger animals,
in order that nothing of sickness and illness may happen,
having collected the whole tribute,
we have given it to king *kong chen.*
cya dung ra zo, Majesty!
having collected offerings of first-fruits crops, we have offered.
Do not put us into sickness and illness!
Let us live in peace!
To *rum* we have given presents (i.e. offerings)."
(Siiger 1967/1: 197; Siiger 1967/2: text no. 36)

Closer inspection of the ritual context of the negative potential of Lepcha deities (*rum*) reveals the ritual determinants of this deviation from their mythical appearance. During the rituals both *rum* and *mung* ("demons") are represented as present, and the ritual for the new-born child as well as the ceremony of Kongchen conclude with a dismissal of the supernatural beings. In both rituals, dominating themes — visible in the above quotations — are on the one hand potential illness and disaster, on the other hand the assertion that appropriate offerings have been given. Illness, death and disaster may be caused by *mung,* by warlike

neighbours, but potentially also by *rum* like Nazongnyo and Kongchen. The whole disastrous potential is brought out during a ritual period, in which the supernatural beings are imagined as being present. In the Great Ceremony of Kongchen a ritual process may be followed through the ritual texts: there is a period of sacralization (texts no. 33–34), a liminal period (texts no. 35–36), and a period of desacralization (texts no. 37/38–39). The introductory text, which defines the yak to be sacrificed as the object of the ritual, already invokes Kongchen and asks him not to cause illness; but above all the disastrous potential indicates the liminal period, the critical turning point at which everything may happen. It is in the face of the same crisis that our texts emphasize ritual control. The ritually provoked and ritually controlled crisis is what makes a new beginning possible. The disastrous potential should thus be seen as elements in the ritual representation of this crisis, as *means* in the ritual process.

We may observe, then, that while a purely ritualistic analysis yields a consistent result, a theme like 'the idea of god' reveals two incompatible and contradictory levels or dimensions. At this point it will be useful to consider our second example, from Tord Olsson's (1983) remarkable study of the idea or image of god among the Maasai. The international debate on high-gods has repeatedly taken an interest in the sole god of the Maasai, *enkAi,* and his somewhat varied representation in Maasai tradition has contributed to theories of the historical development of high-gods. On the basis of a comprehensive body of texts (Olsson 1975–1982) Tord Olsson has shown, however, that the varieties in the representation of *enkAi* are distributed on the main *genres* of religious texts and on certain religious speech situations with great regularity: In the myths, the anthropomorphic image of god is a formal feature of the narrative approach; but this is not taken literally in the sense that the Maasai narrators and their audience cherish an anthropomorphic idea of god. — In hymns and prayers to *enkAi,* shifting manifestations of the god are regular; he may be identified with the sky, the earth, and other parts of nature, but in the supplications proper, i.e. in the speech situation of entreaty, he assumes anthropomorphic traits.

In Maasai tradition, literary *genre* and speech situation are thus determinants of the image of god, and quite in accordance with what we found among the Lepchas, the decisive dividing line runs between mythical and ritual texts. The discrepancies between the mythical and the ritual image of god are not clues to a historical development; they are contemporary dimensions of an image of god. We are dealing with two different and not directly compatible levels, the mythical and the ritual, not with

diachronical layers of tradition.

This seems to favour our suggestion that in describing religion one should operate distinct levels of analysis. If ritual, myth, ideas, attitudes, etc. are huddled up at one level as equal constituents of "religion", the result is not likely to be a consistent and precise description. In many cases the failure to distinguish analytical levels has been the starting point for historical interpretations aiming at diachronical consistency at the cost of any coherent synchronous description. — Our third case, the centennial discussion on monotheist tendencies in ancient Egyptian religion, is a rather nice example: Since the latter half of the former century lectures, monographs and essays on ancient Egyptian religion have spoken of monotheist tendencies, of developments from an original monotheism into polytheism or developments towards monotheism. Original or final, Egyptian monotheism has its empirical basis in quite a number of religious texts from widely different periods which speak about the sun-god and sometimes also other gods as the one or the sole god. On the other hand the case for monotheism in ancient Egypt is somewhat impeded by the hundreds of gods referred to in texts at all periods in ancient Egyptian history — except the 17 years of Akhenaton's reign. Facing both the apparent ambiguity of the evidence and competing historical constructions, Siegfried Morenz (1960: 145 ff.) pointed out that a tension between the unity and the multiplicity of the divine was a central and inherent characteristic of Egyptian religion. Thus achieving a synchronous approach, Morenz was still operating a one-level theory of "Egyptian religion", and he saw systematizing attempts within the Egyptian pantheon (divine families, triads, etc.) as mediating the basic tension between the unity and the multiplicity of the divine.

On the achievements of Morenz, Erik Hornung (1971) could base a broader and more systematic investigation of Egyptian conceptions of god: *Der Eine und die Vielen,* one of the most seminal books in the modern study of ancient Egyptian religion. Still, at least at the outset, operating a one-level theory like Morenz, Hornung saw the mutually incompatible expressions and representations of the unity and the multiplicity of the divine as complementary statements towards the total Egyptian conception of god. It was a closer inspection of the ontological dimensions of unity and multiplicity that took him further: the world of the Egyptian consists of 'that which is' (*ntt*) and 'that which is not' (*jwtt*). Non-being is potential being, the not yet manifest and differentiated existence, the primeval unity. Being, on the other hand, is always ordered and differentiated; coming into being means being singled out from this primeval unity, and

creation means, above all, a process of differentiation. Behind the varied Egyptian mythologies of creation is the idea of the primeval One, "who makes himself into millions", and primeval time as the time when "no two things had yet occurred", i.e. as a state of undifferentiated unity. The mythical images are the limitless and unfathomable primeval ocean, the indiscernible primeval darkness, and the sole creator god "with none beside him". The created world, the world of being with its rich differentiation, is but a tiny portion singled out from this immense universe of non-being; and to cease being is only to sink back into the inert, dark, and limitless state of pre-existence.

Non-being could be something frightening, the destruction of life or the world as the Egyptian knew it, or the deserts and wildernesses surrounding his beloved land. But it was also the source of being, as unity was the source of multiplicity. When divinity comes into being, it multiplies; absolute, exclusive unity is the prerogative of non-being. The *henotheism* we find in hymns and other ritual texts refers to a relative unity, a kind of momentaneous primeval status and thus a potential for coming into being, which any god may assume. — And, as Hornung almost points out, the proper place for a god to do so is ritual! It is in ritual that everything assumes primeval status, and it is in ritual that a new beginning is made by reducing the god to the fertile unity of potential being.

It is an astonishing, but I think undeniable, fact that participants in almost a hundred years of discussion about "monotheist tendencies" in ancient Egyptian religion simply failed to acknowledge that their source material was ritual texts, in which they should not expect to find catechetic statements on the nature of God. Uncritical compilation around the theme of the one or sole god gave rise to competing historical constructions in a field where closer inspection of the ritual context in which it is found would have yielded a consistent analysis and revealed a considerable historical continuity.

The debate on ancient Egyptian kingship was perhaps shorter, but in those hectic years when it was nourished by the international interest in sacral kingship, most intense in the 1950s and 60s, it exhibited a similar pattern. Among egyptologists the debate took a peculiar turn because, as brought out by Henri Frankfort (1948b), many Egyptian texts explicitly call the king a god. Since also the human nature of the king is represented in the source material, speculations about the two natures of the Egyptian king were almost bound to haunt egyptology. Hans Goedicke (1960) found them in the Old Kingdom (2640–2160 B.C.) use of the two terms *njswt* and *ḥm,* the first denoting 'das Herrschertum schlechthin', the second its

temporal human bearer. In the same year G. Posener (1960) published an intelligent critique of the way the evidence had been uncritically compiled around the idea of the divine king. Notably by contrasting the image of the king in royal inscriptions and in free narratives he demonstrated that the human nature of the king was clearly perceived by his subjects. Once more, a critical assessment of the textual basis for the fluctuations of a concept uncovers distinct levels. — In an otherwise valuable essay S. Morenz (1964) suggested that the divine king be taken as the starting point in a long historical process in which the king gradually loses his divine nature and the divine assumes a more and more transcendent character. Strengthened by the actual weakening of kingship at the end of the Old Kingdom the process goes on and on as a 'dissonantic accord' throughout the history of Egyptian religion. Much can be said in favour of Morenz's tracing of the process in the better known periods, but it is difficult to escape the impression that the theory of divine kingship now shares the fate of fetishism, totemism, and dynamism: transposition into an all-embracing prehistory. As we have seen before, a huge diachronical construction now accounts for synchronous discrepancies.

It was with clarifying effects, therefore, that W. Barta (1975) introduced the distinction between ritual and universal belief: On the basis of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom evidence, he at last established that whenever the king is represented as divine, this refers to a *ritual* status. The king is a god in his ritual roles, mythological or non-mythological, and no pre-ritual divinity can be claimed for any king. Intricate problems like the king's two natures or the 'dissonantic accord' arise when all statements about the king are taken as expressions of universal belief. United at this single level, they defy any consistent description; but on the ritual level distinguished by Barta we may, undisturbed by *bourgeois* common sense, perceive the divinity of the king.

A Definition of Ritual

In four well documented cases we have seen that the investigation of a theme may sometimes demand an awareness of certain distinct levels of analysis. If only one, all-embracing level, vaguely defined as 'religion', 'world view', or the like, is operated, it is often difficult to arrive at a consistent analysis, and diachronical distortion of contemporary source material has more than once been the sole expedient in the face of discrepancies. Throughout our four cases we have found that considerable

clarification is obtained by isolating the ritual level. We have not, however, given any clue to its identification. To account for its relations with other levels, such as those where myths, religious ideas, attitudes, etc. belong, would take us close to a complete system or hierarchy of levels — and far beyond the more modest aim of this paper. But at least partial results could be obtained through a definition of ritual that meets the demands of our four cases. If themes known from myths, religious ideas, etc. assume a different character at the level of ritual, our definition of ritual will have to provide a general framework to account for such differences.

A definition of ritual is a task that might take volumes, and the following discussion should not be taken as anything like an account of current opinions. A fairly recent definition of ritual, which I believe covers much of the modern consensus, is, however, the one given by Zuesse (1987) in the *Encyclopedia of Religion:*

> For our purposes, we shall understand as "ritual" those conscious and voluntary, repetitious and stylized symbolic bodily actions that are centered on cosmic structures and/or sacred presences. (Verbal behavior such as chant, song, and prayer are of course included in the category of bodily actions). (Zuesse 1987: 405)

Definitions, like confessions, usually bear the marks of past heresies. 'Conscious and voluntary' serves to distinguish ritual from neurotic compulsions, from which it was once fashionable to derive it. 'Repetitious' points to a prominent feature of ritual: most rituals are repeated, and many claim to be repetitions of mythical prototypes. On the other hand, logical problems may arise if repetition of a certain action is taken as a necessary criterion that it is such an action. Eating and drinking are also 'repetitious' actions, but the repetition which is essential for the sustenance of life is not intrinsic to the notion of eating or drinking. — The word 'stylized' excellently characterizes a lot of ritual procedures, even though considerable variation can be shown in this matter. The term 'symbolic' is likewise indisputably relevant, even in spite of the rich varieties of meanings attached to it.

'Bodily', however, excludes meditations that follow a prescribed course and also those who pray silently, unless we presume that their larynx vibrates. Students of Buddhist practices should certainly object to having ritual confined to bodily action, and even in Vedic ritual, the cosmological and mythological knowledge conveyed by the Brahmanas is considered essential to the efficacy of the rites, although it is not displayed in bodily action.

Stripping the definition of those adjectives that are unnecessary or entail logical difficulties, and those which, from a comparative point of view, draw very artificial lines of distinction, we are left with 'symbolic actions', and the additional qualification that they have to be 'centered on cosmic structures and/or sacred presences'. — 'Centered on' betrays very little about the manner in which cosmic structures and sacred presences are central to ritual, but there is no doubt that most often they are. It seems, however, that there are also actions so far counted as rituals to which these characteristics are not easily applied. Where are the cosmic structures and/or sacred presences of protestant marriage — or, for that matter, the turtle dance of the Andaman islanders (Brown 1922: 91 ff.)? There is a striking difference between the accurately elaborated formal characteristics of the first part of the definition and the vagueness of the second part — the one intended to account for the religious nature of ritual.

Yet Zuesse's definition may be useful as a collection of adjectives and other characteristics that may often be applied to ritual. The frustration it leaves and the doubts that it raises in the mind of the intelligent reader are mainly due to the fact that it does not indicate any interrelation or interaction between the seven characteristics gathered round the word 'actions'. In order to be useful a definition must, I believe, imply some sort of relation between the characteristics it joins together. In the case of ritual, this could be obtained if the formal characteristics were related to the purpose[1] of ritual. Those who deal with patent specifications know how important it is to state the purpose of an invention; the inventor of an umbrella with a hole for a flag used in welcoming homecomers to our rainy country is not entitled to royalties from everybody with a leaky umbrella.

To generalize about the purpose of ritual is perhaps no easy task. It ranges from the renewal of the universe to the curing of obstipation, and sometimes no purpose is apparent at all. It is, however, safe to say that all rituals aim somehow at governing the course of events; they are intended to work on whatever object they have, to change it or to maintain it. A ritual is designed and performed on the assumption that once it is accomplished, the world is not quite what it would have been without the ritual. — Edmund Leach (1976: 9)[2] distinguishes three aspects of human behaviour:

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[1] My emphasis on 'purpose' coincides with, and owes a certain debt to, some of the importants considerations on ritual as "instrument and purpose" by C. G. Diehl 1956: 13–35.

[2] The three aspects are not mutually exclusive "types"; a technical action may also involve biological activity and at the same time be 'expressive'.

(1) "natural biological activities of the human body",
(2) "technical actions, which serve to alter the physical state of the world out there", and
(3) "expressive actions, which either simply say something of the world as it is, *or else purport to alter it by metaphysical means*".

The category of expressive actions is thus divided into two: those that describe the world, and those that work on it, i.e. rituals. The latter subcategory was taken by J. G. Frazer, in his theory of magic, as due to a confusion of aspects (2) and (3) (Leach 1976: 29), but Leach insists on it as a self-contained aspect of the broad field of 'expressive actions' — or, to use a key word from the title of his book: communication.

If ritual is communication, it is certainly a peculiar kind of communication. For what usually constitutes communication is the interaction of a sender, a message, and a receiver; and since ritual "purports to alter the world by metaphysical means", it is not in need of a receiver. There may, of course, be a lot of ordinary communication in a ritual performance; a ritual may communicate to its participants or onlookers a survey of social structures, an official recognition of a change of status, a sense of the divine, or just a feeling that things will be all right now. But none of these, and numberless other, cases of ordinary communication are prerogatives of ritual, just as the technical actions and the natural biological activities usually involved are not constituents of the notion of ritual.

But could not ritual be described as ordinary communication with extraordinary receivers? Often gods, demons, animals, plants, and even lifeless substances are addressed in rituals. Is it not the aim of ritual somehow to motivate such more or less intelligent agencies in favour of the desired outcome? These receivers are, I believe, best considered part of the ritual — unless we want to make a radical distinction between prayer and drama, between persons speaking to an invisible god and persons enacting some aspect of the interaction of gods and men. A ritual will often represent communication with some receiver; but the ritual has no additional receiver.

Ritual is communication only in the sense that it represents something; it refers, signifies and makes sense; but it is not designed to inform or persuade any extra-ritual agency. It is designed to work, to act directly on whatever object it has. In this respect it is akin to what Leach called 'technical actions', but also different from this category, since it acts by means of exactly those features that make it akin to communication: by representing. — We shall accordingly define ritual as *representative acts*

designed to change or maintain their object, thus distinguishing ritual from all other kinds of communication and from all other kinds of action. This definition is independent of any attempt to define religion, and some of my colleagues will no doubt find it too broad and inclusive. All that is needed to exclude a residual group of non-religious rituals is, however, to add your favourite definition of religion.

Although our definition focuses on ritual efficacy, it is also independent of local variations of the belief in ritual efficacy; all it requires is that the action is formally designed to work. Thus postulating a certain relation between the form and the aim of ritual, our definition invites studies of the way representations are put to work in ritual. — But it also meets the demands of our four cases by providing a framework to account for the way themes and motifs are transformed at the level of ritual: They are represented as means towards the end of the ritual. Kongchen and Nazongnyo are represented as potential causes of illness in a ritual process that aims at annihilating illness through a ritually produced and ritually controlled crisis. In an analogous way, the idea of ritual as a dynamic process of representations towards a certain aim accounts for the tension found in Maasai hymns and prayers, where the god is on the one hand identified with elements of nature and, on the other hand assumes anthropomorphic features in the supplicating passages. What is represented is ritual dynamics, not theological propositions.

In ancient Egyptian religion, ritual dynamics notably takes the form of re-enactments of mythical exemplars. Often this involves a ritual point zero which is at the same time a liminal crisis in the sense of Victor Turner (e.g. 1974: 93–111) and a mythical chaos, containing the possibility of creation as well as the risk of perdition. It is at this point zero, in the undifferentiated primeval non-being of the ritual, that the god is represented as the mythical creator: alone, with none beside him. Like Maasai hymns and prayers, Egyptian ritual texts sometimes exhibit a tension between representations of the divine that would, at the level of catechism, be mutually exclusive. Often it is a tension between the one god and the god who is manifest in multiple forms; in a single sentence the god may be called "the one who makes himself into millions". The image of god is not a static one, but one that takes form in the creative dynamics of ritual.

The ritual divinity of the Egyptian king is understandable along similar and even more general lines. Ritual persons are very often identified with gods in order to serve the purpose of a ritual. It is from the mythical and the divine standpoint worked up by ritual that an effect on the world can

be achieved; and by being ritually his mythical and divine exemplar, the king ensures that the primeval pattern is reproduced to renew and uphold the world. Accordingly, the king may even outside the ritual context be called a god, referring to his ritual role. This is, however, not a religious idea or an ideology that prevents his subjects from being fully aware of his human nature.

If our definition of ritual has thus indicated the conditions for the transformations of themes and motifs at the ritual level, we have at the same time defined the field of ritualistics — not as a methodological monopoly, but as a distinct level of analysis. Ritualistics is the study of ritual dynamics, i.e. of the way representations are put to work in ritual. Accordingly, it is also a study of form and meaning in ritual, which we must now consider more closely.

Meaning and Form in Ritual

Frits Staal (1989) found in previous studies of ritual a vain obsession with meaning, and what he offers is a study of ritual as rule-governed activity without meaning, a study of pure form more akin to the study of music than to linguistics. Considering form as prior to meaning, he admits, however, that ritual *attracts* meanings: "Rites and mantras suck up meanings that come their way like black holes suck up matter" (Staal 1991: 233). Even in linguistics, it is possible to isolate a level that in itself has no meaning; in fact, this is what Saussurian linguistics does in order to arrive at the idea of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign. The meanings attached to sounds and combinations of sounds are also acquired meanings, which convention has taught people to use and understand. And who knows for how many years our remote ancestors went on uttering nonsensical — but perhaps "rule-governed" — sequences of sounds before they hit upon the ill-fated expedient of attaching meaning to them? But one cannot therefore say that sounds or even rule-governed sequences of sounds are more essential to language than meaning. We have also learnt from the early history of our discipline, I hope, that analytical levels should not be projected into history or prehistory. It seems that Frits Staal has discovered a nonsensical level of ritual so fascinating that he does not hesitate to dismiss all the rest as accessory. The over-abundance of meaning with which it is almost everywhere invested may then, very much

in the spirit of Fr. Creutzer, be seen as the product of inert sacerdotalism, later followed up by ambitious students of religion.

The discipline of ritualistics here proposed deals also with meaning in rituals. There is, however, something to the case for meaninglessness advocated by Frits Staal. The meaning found in ritual is not straightforwardly the meaning of ritual, for as we have already seen, ritual is not a message. The logic and meaning of the representations displayed in ritual are not there to inform or persuade, but to work. This is perhaps best illustrated by elaborate studies of the processual form of rituals such as those carried out by Victor Turner (1970; 1974); but for the sake of brevity, let us try to make our point on the basis of a single ritual formula:

Like those European magical formulae that were in common use till the beginning of the present century, Egyptian formulae regularly subject their case to cosmological control by citing a mythical exemplar of the pertinent case, thus, as it were, reducing it to its cosmological significance.[3] This is, however, not the only way of exerting ritual and cosmological control; it may also be done in a negative mode, by interpreting the danger or the disease to be handled as cosmologically impossible or at least unimportant. In a collection of spells for mother and child from about 1700 BC the following formula is addressed to some illness in a child, ritually personified as a female demon:

> ... You who spend your time making mud-bricks for your father Osiris! You who say against your father Osiris: 'May he live from *d̲3js* and honey!' Run out, you asiatic woman who come from the desert, you negro woman who come from the wilderness! Are you a handmaid? — come in vomiting! Are you a noble woman? — come in his urine, come in the snot of his nose, come in the sweat of his body! — My hands are on this child — The hands of Isis are on him, as she lays her hands on her son Horus. (Erman 1901: 14)

Osiris never had a daughter, and even if he had, she could hardly have been a maker of mud-bricks; it is a dirty job, not suitable for the daughter of a king. And as if this social *dérangement* were not sufficient demonstration of her impossibility, she is quoted for a statement of such world-overturning absurdity that there is no longer any doubt: she does not exist! That Osiris, who as a god lives from Maat, should nourish on *d̲3js,* a vomitive, which is, as an extra refinement, mixed in honey, is not only inconceivable; it cannot conceivably be said or proposed. Bringing *d̲3js* into a temple was considered a desecration. — The disease is thus

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[3] For details and documentation, cf. Podeman Sørensen 1984.

identified with an impossible mythical person, not unlike the second son of Mary in European magical formulae, a person who cannot exist at all.

Correspondingly, the disease is later called an Asiatic woman from the desert and a Negro woman from the wilderness. Geography is a cosmological discipline as well as mythology: the people who live in the desert and the wilderness, outside the cultivated Nile valley, are likewise cosmological outsiders and somehow less real than Egyptians. In this way the formula cuts off the disease, mythologically and cosmologically, but it ends up in a positive identification of mother and child with Isis and Horus.

The formula not only illustrates how danger and disease may be interpreted as something anticosmic or impossible; it also demonstrates that several different mythological and cosmological interpretations may occur side by side in one and the same formula: The vicious daughter of Osiris, an Asiatic woman, and a Negro woman are parallel designations of the disease, in as far as they serve to cut it off from cosmology; but taken literally, they are mutually exclusive. And the positive mythological identification is in the end still another approach to the cosmological reduction of the actual situation.[4]

There is plenty of meaning in this formula, even more than could be united into a coherent message. What unites the mutually exclusive statements is the ritual, in which they are means towards curing the child, and it is in this context that they make sense. In ordinary communication, meaning is the end product; in ritual, meaning is a means towards whatever end or purport it has. — We may also observe that the ritual is made up of meaning or meanings; it is through their meaning that the statements are considered efficacious. Meaning is to ritual very much what sound is to language.

Our single small scale specimen may also serve to illustrate the processual form of ritual. The three approaches to the illness as a female

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[4] We are thus facing a specimen of what Henri Frankfort (1948a: 4) called 'multiplicity of approaches'. Frankfort's idea of 'ancient thought' or 'mythopoeic thought' as "admitting the validity of several avenues of approach at one and the same time" (1948b: 41) is, I believe, mainly based on Egyptian ritual texts. In this literature it is not uncommon to find a series of parallel statements, each representing a definite approach. Such a series of concrete statements may be considered a paradigm expressing an abstract relation: the three identifications of the disease are mutually exclusive, but admitted side by side they express very well its anti-cosmic nature. — Although it has been of great value in the study of ancient Egyptian religion, Frankfort's idea of 'ancient thought' is another specimen of the leap from the level of ritual to a level of religious thought, similar to what we have pointed out above.

demon make up a redundant sequence, in as far as they all identify the illness as "non-being". Considered as a sequence or process, they call the illness down, first in mythological terms, then in terms of (geographical) cosmology, to point zero, where it may be commanded: come out! It is at this crucial moment that recourse is had to the further ritual control that is contained in the mythological identification of mother and child with Isis and Horus.

A more convincing case could, perhaps, be made by an elaborate analysis of a more comprehensive ritual sequence, but our tiny specimen at least illustrates our point: In ritual, meaning and form are determined by the ritual aim they serve; they are indeed essential to ritual but not its end product. This means that the study of meaning and form as ritual dynamics has to be different from other studies of cultural meanings and forms. The form is not there to convey the meaning, but rather the meanings are there to fit the form, which in turn must fit the purpose.

It is with a view to the further exploration of the way meaning and form are put to work in ritual, and the way ritual determines and conditions the form of representations, that I suggest *ritualistics* as a new discipline. University courses could already be held on the basis of quite a number of relevant studies of ritual. The new discipline could replace part of the phenomenology of religion and provide a basis for more precise descriptions and studies of a host of interesting themes that somehow involve ritual or ritual texts.

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TOVE TYBJERG

Wilhelm Mannhardt — A Pioneer in the Study of Rituals

In the history of the study of religion the German folklorist Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831–1880) was the first to undertake a systematic study of rituals.

This was not because of a specific interest in rituals; Mannhardt's interests lay with mythology, and all his life he regarded himself as a mythologist. In focusing on mythology Mannhardt was in tune with the spirit of his age, but to undertake a systematic study of rituals was something new. At the time the novelty of this approach went practically unnoticed, and Mannhardt himself barely reflected on method. I have chosen to focus on Mannhardt's creative approach to the study of ritual, partly because it is somewhat overlooked, partly because it illuminates in a nearly exemplary way some of the basic strengths of a ritual centred approach to the study of religion.

Mannhardt's Background

Mannhardt's love for mythology came to him at an early age. During his childhood a crippling back disease tied him to his bed for long periods of time. One summer he read Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie:*

> Es waren die Sommerferien; der Augustapfelbaum inmitten unseres Gartens warf mir seine rotbackigen Früchte in den Schoss. So habe ich, damals Secundaner, das schwererrungene Meisterwerk von Anfang bis Ende gelesen — und die Richtung meines Lebens war entschieden. (Mannhardt 1874–76/2: viii)

In *Deutsche Mythologie* Grimm sought to recreate an old German mythology from the scanty existent sources. Among these he included folklore, assuming that he would find there the worn-out remnants of an old German pantheon. Mannhardt initially followed similar lines of thought, but he soon became aware of the weaknesses of some of Grimm's basic assumptions. Following the mythologist Wilhelm Schwartz, it became clear to Mannhardt that, generally speaking, folklore could not be taken as remnants, but had to be regarded as an old and very stable layer of "lower mythology", the seeds or the essential elements wherefrom "higher mythology" developed. Folkloristic material was to be regarded as survivals — "Überlebsel" — as Mannhardt says with direct reference to the English anthropologist Edward Tylor (Mannhardt 1874–76/2: xxii–xxiii).

Apart from being occupied with questions of origin, 19th century historians of religion characteristically drew on comparative studies in Indo-European languages and myths and tended to be rather romantic in their interpretations; Indo-European gods were seen as personifications of heavenly phenomena like the dawn, the tempest, and thunder and lightning. Mannhardt worked with similar interpretations in his first publications *Germanische Mythen* (1858) and *Götterwelt der deutschen und nordischen Völker* (1860). Unlike many of his contemporaries, however, he did take heed of the critique from more sober-minded philologists; so much so, in fact, that after a physical and psychological crisis he decided upon a complete change of approach. Should Grimm's work be continued, the foundation had to be different:

> Bleibenden Gewinn versprach nur eine solche Fortführung des begonnenen Riesenwerkes, welche zunächst einmal in dem Baumaterial selber sich orientierte und ohne Rücksicht auf ein vorher bestimmtes Resultat die Volksüberlieferungen einerseits unter sich, andererseits mit den zunächstliegenden verwandten Erscheinungen verglich. (Mannhardt 1874–76/2: xiv)

To remedy the deficiencies in existing collections of folklore, and to establish a sound foundation for further studies, Mannhardt decided to start his own collection. All-inclusive collection would be impossible, and Mannhardt limited himself to a survey of customs related to farming, especially harvest customs. From the beginning of the 1860's to his death Mannhardt was engaged in collecting material via widely distributed questionnaires. Mannhardt never published his material as was his intention, mainly because he was never satisfied with it; he used it in parts in what was to become his main published work, *Wald- und Feldkulte* (1874–1876).

Wald- und Feldkulte — Mannhardt as Mythologist

In *Wald- und Feldkulte* Mannhardt works his way through the material on cults of the fields and woods in Northern Europe and in antiquity. Behind all these customs and myths Mannhardt finds one single idea. This "Grundanschauung" is the conception of "die Vegetationsdämon", the vegetation-daemon. The daemon is the personification of plants or plant life. In the first volume *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme: mythologische Untersuchungen* (1874–76/1), Mannhardt examines the vegetation-daemon in European folklore; he begins with simple forms like trees of life or destiny and forest people like elves and fairies; he continues with the rich variety of customs connected with spring and harvest festivals, like the May Trees in spring and "die Erntemai" at harvest together with various customs connected with "the last sheaf". In volume two, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte aus nordeuropäischer Überlieferung erläutert* (1874–76/2), and in the posthumously published *Mythologische Forschungen* (1884), Mannhardt traces these concepts back in time and finds similar customs in antiquity. The parallels are striking, but the historical connections are difficult to trace, and Mannhardt finds it impossible to know whether the parallels are due to common origin, to later loans or diffusions, or to the fact that similar customs might originate in similar conditions. Mannhardt points to the parallels and thereby the possibility to understand the scanty sources from antiquity in analogy with contemporary folk traditions.

Because of the mythological bias in Mannhardt's thinking he tended to generalize in terms of a proto-mythical figure. Behind the vegetation-daemon is a theory of animation and personification, primarily based on the different names given to trees, boughs, sheaves, dolls or leaf-covered persons. Mannhardt's emphasis is on the names and he pays lesser attention to the ritual forms. Mannhardt has, in fact, been mythicizing the connections between vegetation and human beings in a much more real sense than the folk traditions did. Despite this mythicizing tendency, the conception of the vegetation-daemon represents a new understanding of the religious meaning of nature. Although Mannhardt was thinking in terms of myth, he was working with traditions deeply rooted in everyday practical life, and he realized that the attitude towards nature in these traditions was of a practical-technical character, not poetic-romantic as the nature-mythologists perceived it. Mannhardt's realization was won through his effort to gather reliable folkloristic source material, that is through his survey.

Mannhardt's Survey

Mannhardt made his survey alone and at his own expense. He sent out 150,000 questionnaires and received 2,000 answers. He sent his questionnaire all over Germany to priests, teachers, farmers' associations, training colleges; he sent it to neighbouring countries; he had it translated into several languages and sent out in France and the Scandinavian countries. Whenever he found knowing people, they were used as informants. When prisoners of war came to camps near Danzig from Denmark in 1864, Mannhardt interviewed the soldiers about the harvest customs of their homelands, and when they came from Elsass-Lothringen in 1870–1871, he likewise made an effort to give them his questionnaire.

In spite of Mannhardt's untiring efforts, he did not succeed in establishing a collection of material with complete geographical coverage; that was his goal and his failure in achieving it was his main reason for postponing publication. As early as 1860, in the foreword to *Götterwelt,* Mannhardt had already laid out plans for a systematic collection of folk traditions and in the foreword to the first publication based on his own material, *Roggenwolf und Roggenhund* from 1865, his wording is practically similar:

> Ein strengwissenschaftlicher Aufbau unserer ganzen Mythologie ist so lange micht möglich, als nicht von jeder einzelnen Tradition alle Varianten Gau bei Gau, Ort bei Ort gesammelt in ihrer ethnographischen Verbreitung bis auf die letzte Grenze und in ihrer historischen Entwickelung bis auf ihre erste Erwähnung rückwärts verfolgt sind. So erst wird es möglich, die ursprüngliche Form, die ursprüngliche Heimat und den ursprünglichen Gedankeninhalt derselben aufzufinden. (Mannhardt 1865a: 13)

Mannhardt's survey was the first of its kind and Mannhardt is generally praised for his systematic collection of material. Nobody would disagree with Mannhardt when he says that collections where "Ein jeder Sammler hat im wesentlichen nur solche Überlieferungen dem Volksmunde abgelauscht, nach denen er aus besondere Neigung fragte" (Mannhardt 1865a: 13), are open to fortuitous interpretations. At the same time few, today, would concur with Mannhardt in his enthusiasm for "die ursprüngliche Form" and certainly not regard it as historical.

Mannhardt as Historian and Phenomenologist

Compared to many contemporary mythologists, Mannhardt's approach is much more historical. Again and again Mannhardt says: "Jede Überlieferung ist zuerst *aus sich selbst und aus ihrem nächsten Umkreise* zu erklären" (Mannhardt 1874–76/2: xxix). The strength of Mannhardt's work is this determined effort to view every custom and tradition in its historical context. The emphasis in the quotation, however, could just as well lie on *zuerst,* because Mannhardt's intention is clearly *first* to explain a tradition in its own terms and from its own background, but only to free the real pristine tradition from later outgrowths. The task as Mannhardt saw it was "... den Kern, die anfängliche echte Volksvorstellung aus den umhüllenden Schalen zu lösen" (Mannhardt 1874–76/2: xxxiii).

The analysis had to begin by removing late additions like Christian reinterpretations or rationalizations; then, a thorough comparative investigation had to be undertaken to classify the different phenomena and to find the core, the essential idea. As Mannhardt saw it, comparative analysis was a historical undertaking. The clearer and purer the essential idea — "die Grundanschauung" — the closer Mannhardt felt to be the pristine religion.

Today we would regard Mannhardt's pristine religion as fiction. We would see Mannhardt's comparative efforts as a phenomenological analysis and regard "die Vegetationsdämon" as "a phenomenon" or a theoretical construct. But whatever the construction is called, it has to have a solid empirical basis and to prove useful for the analysis. Mannhardt's basis is the investigation of agricultural folk traditions. Why did Mannhardt choose to investigate *"den mytischen Gebräuchen beim Ackerbau"* (Mannhardt 1874–76/2: xxxiv)? And why was that a good idea?

Mannhardt's Theme: Mytischen Gebräuchen beim Ackerbau

Mannhardt's first choice of subject for his survey was "mythischen und magischen Lieder" he gave it up, however, for practical and methodological reasons. In a speech given in 1865 in Halberstadt to der ersten Generalversammlung des Gesammt-Vereinnes der deutschen Geschichts- und Alterthums-Vereine", Mannhardt says:

Lieder sind, insofern sie nicht an bestimmt überall vorkommende Feste oder Thätigkeiten geknüpft sind, leichter vergänglich als andere Volksüberlieferungen

und daher viel schwerer aufzufinden, ihr Vorhandensein oder Abgang in einem bestimmten Landstriche viel schwieriger festzustellen. Dagegen fallen die Ackerbaugebräuche viel deutlicher ins Auge, und während jene nur erlauscht, wem das Volk sein Herz und Vertrauen eröffnet, vermag über diese schon ungeübterer Beobachter, der nur *Zuschauer* war, manches zu berichten. (Mannhardt 1865b: 83; Beitl 1933: 76)

Mannhardt chose farming customs because they were rather easy to observe, but he had other reasons as well. Farming customs as a whole were too wide a field; to manage the material he limited his survey to harvest customs; they could be followed back in time, and:

Noch von einer andern Seite her bieten die Erntegebräuche die Gewähr eines günstigen Erfolges für die Aufgabe, der *deutschen und vergleichenden* Mythologie und Sittenkunde *positive* Grundlagen zu schaffen. Bisher ging die vergleichende Mythologie von den *mythischen Vorstellungen* aus und suchte ... durch Muthmassung die unbekannte Grösse ihres Inhalts, den zu Grunde liegenden Anlass der Anschauung zu finden. Hier schliesst sich die Untersuchung umgekehrt an die unzweifelhaft feststehende Sache, an die *bekannte Grösse* eines im menschlichen Leben notwendigen Aktes an, um welchen sich in mythischdenkenden Zeitaltern mythische Vorstellungen lagern *mussten* ... (Mannhardt 1865b: 84; Beitl 1933: 77)

Mannhardt made no clear-cut distinction between myths and rites and his reasons for focusing on customs and rituals were primarily practical. Harvest customs are widespread, it is easy to ascertain their existence, and no special training is required of the informants. Harvest customs are stable and therefore suitable for analysis stretching over long periods of time. But the crucial point is the last, that: "Hier schliesst sich die Untersuchung ... an die unzweifelhaft feststehende Sache, an die *bekannte Grösse* eines im menschlichen Leben notwendigen Aktes an". Myths can be treated detached from the human beings telling them and using them; and there is a risk that the analysis will end in intellectual or poetic abstractions, as was the case for the nature mythologists in the last century. Rituals are more clearly and inextricably bound up with social life. The strength of Mannhardt's analysis of *Wald- und Feldkulte* is precisely that it is embedded in the reality of peasant life. This reality drew Mannhardt's attention away from the mythical-poetical to the practical-technical.

Religion and Society — von Sydow's Critique

Not everybody would agree that Mannhardt's strength is his close touch with reality. In point of fact the Swedish folklorist C. W. von Sydow has criticized Mannhardt for exactly the opposite, for fancying elaborate religious beliefs behind customs with no such content. Only a bookish person without a real feel for the true character of the folk festivals could fail to see that there was no conception of a vegetation-daemon behind these peasant traditions, only youthful fun and merriment:

> If you are present, and see how it happens, you cannot avoid noticing that it is only a joke. The closeted scholar who reads information about such things in the form of dry excerpts, takes everything seriously; and if he thinks it seems too queer for people to believe, he persuades himself that *now* it is only a survival, but that *formerly* people believed firmly and sincerely in the whole thing! (Sydow 1948: 101)

von Sydow's critique is not unjustified, but even more than Mannhardt von Sydow seems to be under the misapprehension that fun, joking and merriment can have nothing to do with belief and religion. It is certainly appropriate to emphasize the fun and merriment in the harvest festivals and that they are on the border of official religion, but Mannhardt is actually well aware of these facts as can be seen for instance in his treatment of customs like birching and flogging with different kinds of greenery. C. W. von Sydow's rather harsh critique is in a sense directed towards the subsequent, more incautious, use of Mannhardt's work, first and foremost by James Frazer. Had it not been for Frazer, Mannhardt might have been completely forgotten; in the *Preface* to the first edition (1890) of *The Golden Bough* Frazer generously acknowledged Mannhardt's importance for his own work: "... the works of the late W. Mannhardt, without which, indeed, my book could scarcely have been written" (Frazer 1911: xii). Frazer is, however, more heavy-handed than the cautious Mannhardt; he is more mechanical and one-sided in his ritualism, in his use of fertility-interpretations, and in his use of survival-arguments. Furthermore, Mannhardt's most original contribution is not his publications, but the questionnaire, on which he based his survey of harvest customs.

Religion and Society — Mannhardt's Questionnaire

In regard to the harvest-customs Mannhardt's special interest is clearly the different personifications of vegetation. The question regarding the personifications of "the last sheaf" is the most detailed and elaborate in the whole questionnaire and the importance clearly indicated. It starts: *"Ein besonderes Augenmerk bittet man auf die folgenden Fragen zu richten!"* Here as elsewhere Mannhardt starts with an open and broad question: "Sind insonderheit beim *Schneiden der letzten Halme* auf einem Ackerfeld, beim Binden der letzten Garbe und beim *Ausdreschen des letzten Gebundes* noch besondere altertümliche Sitten vorhanden?" He exemplifies the customs related to the last sheaf by giving typical names for it, by telling how it is sometimes formed like a doll, sometimes shaped like a human being and he finishes with some very specific questions: "Wie nennt man die letzte Garbe? Was ruft man demjenigen, der sie bindet (resp. die letzten Halme schneidet) zu? Wird die Puppe nach jeder Frucht (Roggen, Gerste, Weizen, Erbsen, Hafer, Kartoffeln u. s. w.) gemacht? Wird in die letzte Garbe ein Stein eingebunden? *Eine kleine Zeichnung der Kornpuppe wäre erwünscht. ...*" (Mannhardt 1868: Anhang). Mannhardt takes great care to ensure that his questions are broad enough to catch various kinds of information, and at the same time so precise and specific that he gets the information he wants.

Even more significant is the fact that Mannhardt is always aware of the importance of the broader context of the different customs. He takes care to ask about similarities to other farming customs, connections to church activities and social relationships. Most important are, however, the questions that have to do with the most obvious context in which the harvest customs are imbedded, the work. Question no. 2 has to do with *how* the work is done: "... Wird das Getreide von den Bauern mit der Sichel oder mit der Sense geschnitten?..." and no. 3 *who* does the work: "Wird das Schneiden der Frucht und das Binden der Garben von denselben Personen besorgt, oder durch verschiedene? (Männer und Frauen? Fremde Arbeiter?)" The German folklorist Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, who has gone through all the answers to the questionnaire, has found that these questions were the ones that gave the most elaborate and detailed responses (Weber-Kellermann 1965: 314).

The questionnaire shows that Mannhardt was not so blind to the realities of peasant life as von Sydow would have it. In the questionnaire he asked systematically for the social and religious context of the harvest customs. It is an indication of the care with which Mannhardt conceived

his questions that they actually gave relatively ample responses. Furthermore it is worth mentioning that the answers to the questions worked out by this "bookish" and "closeted scholar" could a 100 years later be used by Weber-Kellermann as source material for a book on the social conditions and the work-relations of the 19th century German peasantry.

Mannhardt as a Student of Rituals

I have dealt with Mannhardt as he saw himself, that is as a mythologist and a historian; and I have dealt with him as he can be seen by us, as a phenomenologist and a student of rituals and social relations. Mannhardt's scholarly work can not be contained within the framework either of his time or ours. But precisely because he is an outsider, his work gives us an opportunity to contemplate the advantages and drawbacks to the different approaches, especially as they relate to the study of rituals.

In this connections it is significant that Mannhardt, so to say, became a *student of rituals in spite of himself.* His source material was "der lebendige Volksglaube" and his goal was: "Ihn in seiner echten Form zu ermitteln und in seinen Entwickelungsphasen bis auf die ursprüngliche, die Grundidee am reinsten ausdrückende Fassung zu verfolgen, ..." (Mannhardt 1874–76/2: xxviii). He started in mythology but found that the mythological theories of his time could not stand up to critical scrutiny. The foundation was not secure; sources were used in an unsystematic and haphazard way. To remedy the deficiency, Mannhardt engaged in a superhuman effort to collect reliable source material, and in this effort he came to realize that customs and rituals constituted the most trustworthy material. In spite of his avowed intention to devote himself to the study of prehistory and mythology, he came to focus on rituals and contemporary customs in his work; and so, indirectly, he showed how important the study of ritual is for historical studies of religion.

The ritualistic approach chosen by Mannhardt is also noteworthy for being contextual. In the questionnaire, Mannhardt shows a keen sense of the importance of seeing the harvest customs in the context of work, of social relationships, of church-life and Christianity, of eroticism, of fun and merriment; in short, in the context of peasant life as a whole. The strength of Mannhardt's analysis is that he sticks to the insights won through the questionnaires. In his interpretation he emphasizes that the

farming customs have to do with fertility, prosperity and good health for human beings, animals, and crops.

Still, when it comes to the more theoretical reflections, Mannhardt lets go of the context. In his enthusiasm to uncover "die ursprüngliche ... Grundidee am reinsten" he does away with the context and tends to over-mythicize the bonds and transactions between plant life and human life. His contribution, however, is in a way exemplary in this sense, too; when religion is regarded as a world apart, as something outside or besides the reality of everyday life, the interpretations have a tendency to lose sight of their empirical basis, i.e. the human carriers of the religious concepts.

There are complicated relations between rituals, myths and general concepts, between the interests of various groups and how they use the religious repertoires. There are complicated relations between a scholar's ideas and the ideas of his time, between what he intends to do and what he actually does and achieves. It is not my intention to give the impression that Mannhardt did the right thing but for the wrong reasons. The dynamic behind Mannhardt's achievement is outside "right" and "wrong". Undismayed by ill-health, physical disability and an almost total lack of recognition, Mannhardt continued his studies for the best of all reasons: they were his consuming passion. In a letter to his always critical friend, the philologist Karl Müllenhoff, Mannhardt writes:

> Auch das begreife ich sehr wohl, dass Ihnen vieles, was ich gesagt, sanguinisch und idealistisch vorkommen muss, so wie, dass ich in Anwendung der Gesetze, die ich als die richtigen erkannt, noch ungeübt und nicht scharf genug bin. Ich habe eben meiner ganzen Geistesanlage nach eine nüchterne Betrachtung der Dinge mühsam zu erkämpfen, aber ich ringe stätig darnach. Auf der andern Seite bildet gerade diese Schattenseite meines Wesens seine Stärke und mein Idealismus hilft mir im Leben Schweres mit Leichtigkeit tragen und in meiner Arbeit ausdauern, er gibt mir Wärme und Ueberredungskraft und so hoffe ich soll gerade dadurch mir gelingen meine Agitation — wie Sie selber es nennen — zu einem gedeihlichen Ziele hinauszuführen. (Mannhardt 1884: xx)

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JONATHAN HORWITZ

Shamanic Rites Seen from a Shamanic Perspective

Prologue

Since the last half of the nineteenth century social scientists have been investigating the shamanic rite. In most cases, these studies have been concentrating on the *form* of the rite. This paper investigates the *content* of the shamanic rite, contrasting it to the form, and uses the shaman's point of view as the orientation of the analysis.

My active interest in shamanism started some nineteen years ago during my last year at university. At that point, I came to the conclusion that shamans, basically, were stone-age psychotherapists, and that they came to this position because the various societies in which shamanism was practiced realized that sensitive people could be a benefit to the group. Rather than pushing them out, keeping them alienated, and possibly draining power from the group, they were trained to help others in a variety of ways.

Although this was my stated conclusion, I privately felt that there was something more to the shaman's way than was expounded by the ethnographers, psychological anthropologists, historians of religion, and missionaries whose works I had read while doing my research. I was fascinated by what the shamans of old told about their work, yet being trained to think rationally in the social sciences, I did have a hard time in understanding what they were saying, and this was because I could not accept what they were saying as being possible. It was something akin to reading poetry, imperfectly translated from an ancient, exotic language which I could never hope to learn.

Still, I did get beyond the barrier of thinking of shamans as schizophrenics, or, worse, charlatans who used the placebo effect on psychosomatically ill patients by telling holy lies. It was clear that something actually was

happening, cures were being effected, which we, in our society, would call unusual coincidences or small miracles. These were being realized, and the scientific investigators from the outside world had no way to explain them. And I was no different. I had no way of explaining them either. It was a mystery. Or, perhaps as certain native Americans say (in translation), the Great Mystery.

Definitions

While I realize that the debate over the definition of what a shaman is will continue through the years, for the purpose of this paper I define a shaman as follows: *a shaman is someone who changes his or her state of consciousness at will, in order to journey to another reality, a "non-ordinary reality," the world of the spirits. There she meets with her spirit helpers to ask for help, power, or knowledge for herself and/or others. Mission accomplished, the shaman journeys back to ordinary reality where he uses or dispenses the newly gained knowledge and/or power* (cf. Eliade 1964; Harner 1980). I do not consider shamanism, in itself, to be a religion, though it often can be a part of a religion. It should be noted, however, that the practice of shamanism often gives what are loosely termed "religious experiences," as well as providing a set of values and practices which the shaman lives by.

I define *the shamanic rite as any action or series of actions made by the shaman with the definite purpose of bringing the power of non-ordinary reality to ordinary reality.* It is the bridge the shaman builds between our world and the world of the spirits. The ritual is not the source of power, but the vehicle for bringing the power to the recipient(s). It is the means, not the goal. In other words, that which is really going on in the shamanic rite is going on in non-ordinary reality. The ritual is the form. The power and spirit are the content.

To do shamanic work it is absolutely essential to have access to the *experience of the reality of non-ordinary reality.* Almost everyone has experienced non-ordinary reality, for example as dreams or near death experiences, but in our society, because of the reluctance to accept non-ordinary *reality as a reality,* the majority of people suppress these experiences in one way or another, for fear of what others may think. Fortunately, this is changing and people are now more open to investigating their experiences and even talking about them (Moody 1977).

It is important to try to describe this other reality, as this is the reality that the shaman is operating in when she or he is shamanizing. Anthropologist Michael Harner points out:

> All the phenomena that characterize the so-called material world will appear just as real and material there [in non-ordinary reality] as they do here .... But the shaman does not view these non-ordinary phenomena as mental in the sense that they are regarded as a projection of one's own mind. Rather, *the mind is being used in order to gain access, to pass through a door into another reality which exists independently of that mind.* (Harner and Doore 1987: 4) (italics added)

The Mazatec shaman Maria Sabina describes non-ordinary reality as:

> ... a world beyond ours, a world that is faraway, nearby, and invisible. And there it is where God lives, where the dead live, the spirits and the saints, a world where everything has already happened and everything is known. (Wasson et al. 1974: 17)

However, not everyone's experiences of non-ordinary reality are as Maria Sabina describes them, but instead are glimpses or moments when non-ordinary reality breaks through the barriers into ordinary reality. In our culture, these breakthroughs are referred to variously, depending on how they are viewed, as "psychotic episodes" on the one extreme, to "miracles" and "revelations" on the other, with "unexplainable events" being a more neutral nomenclature, or even dismissed as "imagination" or "fantasy." But in order to shamanize, the shaman must know non-ordinary reality for the reality that it is.

Background

In recent years, much of the research on shamanism has been done in the library. This is partly due to the historical fact that the State has never been fond of the shaman, and the number of observable traditional shamans has decreased even faster than the alarming disappearance of their cultures and habitats. Be that as it may, some of the analyses produced have been rich in information, and have shown insight. While it is admirable that such feats of intellectual competence can be performed, a fact which speaks highly of the fieldwork done by preceding generations of anthropologists, missionaries, and other students of religion and humanity, one must also remember that those students had their own criteria, and

their own prejudices and blind spots, which are not always clear or easily understandable when one is away from the actual setting in time and space. These weaknesses can be, and often are, amplified the farther one gets from the actual source. As a result, there has often been a lack of deeper understanding of what actually is taking place in the shamanic ritual. I feel that this is due to the fact that generally the point of view of the academic observer is *outside* the action.

The literature on shamanism is filled with examples where the writer was a participant — but only in his or her role as observer — of a shamanic ritual. Observer participation has been one of the main information gathering methods in the social sciences since the beginning. But a part of this method has also been the maintainence of academic distance. While it is almost impossible to maintain this distance one hundred percent in the actual field situation, due to practical considerations alone, academic distance is easily enough maintained in the field reports and monographs. However, the practice of academic distance in itself makes it impossible to fully understand, let alone explain, what is going on in the shamanic séance. To accomplish this, one must go beyond merely accepting the shaman's point of view as valid. To fully grasp what is going on it is also necessary *to be aware of the presence of power,* which, in part, comes from the spirit essence found in everything. This, which for our culture is the concept we call animism, is an established reality for the shaman, and during the shamanic rite the shaman taps the spirit power of the objects which surround him, in many cases objects which he has selected, his paraphernalia, not because they *symbolize* certain powers (Hoppal 1987), but because they *contain* those powers, and in some cases *are* those powers. As anthropologist Don Handelman (1972) very insightfully observes:

> The paraphernalia of the shaman were also termed 'power' .... Properly consecrated they were considered to be physical extensions of the shaman's spirit-helper. As such, they were always in contact with the spirit-helper .... (1972: 92)

But the spirit power in the shamanic rite is not limited to the shaman's trappings. Even more important is the spirit power the shaman calls to the séance to do the work, as well as the spirit power he brings back from the spirit world to help the person he is working for. If, then, one is not aware of the presence of power during a shamanic rite, the most one can hope for is either an empirical description of events, or an analysis at some theoretical level, but still an analysis based on speculations. This is

what most attempts to understand the shamanic rite are, as most outside observers have not observed the power, or neglected to write about it for one reason or another. I have chosen one example of each to illustrate my point.

Descriptive Observation

A good, and unusual, example of an empirical description is Ivan A. Lopatin's *A Shamanistic Performance to Regain the Favor of the Spirit* (1940–41). Although this is what I would call a very sympathetic presentation of a shamanic séance, Lopatin's choice of the word "performance" does indicate something — perhaps unconscious — about his view of the shaman's work. The concept of performance itself puts a filter between the observer and the shaman. In many reports the shamanic rite is referred to as a "performance," and this choice of wording, as well as "audience" and "role," emphasizes the form, and indicates the bias on the part of the observer. This could be at least partly responsible for later misunderstandings.

The most unusual thing about Lopatin's description is that it exists. As Lopatin indicates, he was extremely fortunate in witnessing this ritual for several reasons, one of them being the very intimate character of the ritual itself. It was not a ritual to regain power for a second party, but to regain power for the shaman herself. Nor was it a public ritual witnessed by the rest of the clan. The only other human witnesses were an interpreter, a female relative of the shaman, two children who were put to bed (but were probably peeking from under the covers), and a cousin of the shaman who assisted her. Because of the extremely intimate nature of this rite — the shaman begging the return of her spirit-helper's aid and forgiveness after a tragedy for which she felt at least partly responsible — it is surprising that there were any witnesses at all. In most cases, *this is the kind of shamanic ritual which would be done by the shaman alone with the spirits.*

Lopatin then goes on to describe the ritual, the preparations, the lengthy, moving invocations accompanied by dancing, the offering of food and drink to the shaman's spirit-helper, and the closing dance.

I chose this account because of the openness of its intimacy, and also because of the very human way Lopatin reported it. However, in his reporting, Lopatin makes it clear that he is not participating, but observing, counting how many times the assistant dances around the fire,

and so on. I also chose this account because it does deal with what could be considered the central issue of shamanism: the importance of the shaman's relationship to her spirit helpers. "'Without thee I am only a poor woman. With thy assistance I am powerful" ' (1940–41: 354), she cries, showing that it is the spirits who do the actual work.

Theoretical Speculation

An outstanding example of a speculative analysis is contained in Anna-Leena Siikala's monumental work, *The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman* (1978). She has based her analysis on Lauri Honko's ideas expressed in his *Role-taking of the Shaman* (1969). As a result, her analysis is limited, and some of the statements which form the theoretical foundation are simply incorrect. For example, she writes:

> The shamanizing séance, the ritual performance embodying the shaman's public activity, is *the key to understanding the whole ideology behind shamanism.* (Siikala 1978: 28. Italics added)

In fact, "the key to understanding the whole ideology behind shamanism" is *the ability to understand the shaman's relationship to his spirit helpers and teachers.* As Handelman perceptively points out:

> The stronger the shaman's ties with the spirit world became, the more capable he became of using his power to comprehend the knowledge contained in the spirit world. Then, with increased knowledge, the shaman could improve his efficacy in healing and therefore accomplish even greater good. If he continued to accomplish a greater extent of good through healing, his power continued to increase, and therefore so did his capacity to obtain further knowledge. This spiral of accomplishment was, however, always predicated on the shaman's ability to meet his ritual and interpersonal obligations, to remain pure in soul, and therefore honest, discreet, and faithful to the compact [with his spirit-helpers]. (1972: 95)

While Siikala concentrates on the form, the rite, she totally ignores the content, which is the power. The most important part of the shamanic ritual is not observable if the observer does not share the awareness of the shaman. There are two levels of action and interaction operating in the shamanic rite, the ordinary reality level and the non-ordinary reality level. If the observer consistently acts as if one of the levels does not exist, then a comprehensive understanding of the rite cannot be reached.

Siikala is absolutely correct in her statement that "The most important of the shaman's roles [and here she refers to the shaman's roles in society, not his roles in the shamanic séance] and one common to all branches of shamanism, is, however, that of the healer" (1978: 320), but she totally ignores the results of these healing séances. This, of course, could be due to the fact that in many cases the investigators whose case studies she used did not note the results. However, the missing information forms no part of her working hypothesis or theoretical framework and seems of little concern. If healing is the reason behind most shamanic rites, then it cannot be ignored in any serious analysis of the rite.

Siikala also writes:

> Not even in the deepest trance does the shaman's reality-orientation completely vanish; supported by the scheme of the séance, he retains his contact with the audience. (1978: 340)

If I have understood correctly, what she means here is that the shaman is keeping at least the corner of his eye, "even in his deepest trance," on the "audience" to see if his show is having the desired effect. This is not true. What is true is that the shaman's reality orientation has changed over to the shamanic state of consciousness, which Harner points out "... involves not only a 'trance' or a transcendent state of awareness, but *also a learned awareness of shamanic methods and assumptions while in such an altered state"* (1980: 21. Italics added). Yes, the shaman is aware of his "audience," but his "audience" in this case are denizens of the spirit world. Moreover, to use the word audience in this case would be putting a wall between the shaman and his spirit teachers, friends, and helpers. The shaman is totally aware, but it is a shamanic awareness as he moves through non-ordinary reality.

All things considered, the concept of analysis from a role-taking point of view is extremely limiting. When applied to the work of the shaman, it gives only an in-depth description of the most superficial aspect of shamanism, adds nothing to the deeper understanding of what is really going on in the shamanic rite, and it denigrates one of the most beautiful, meaningful, and natural — yet at the same time *social* — human activities to be found. Of course, as Shakespeare points out, we are all actors, but we are all so much more as well. It is this *something more* that shamans are which makes them so worthy of study.

Intimate Participation

An attempt to get into the shamanic séance — as an *intimate participant* — and get a look at or feel the shamanic ingredient was performed by the Swedish anthropologist Bo Sommarström (1989). While in Nepal, he went to a Tibetian shaman-medium to be cured for a bronchial condition which had been plaguing him for six weeks as a result of a research expedition in Tibet. Pointing out the similarities in the relationship between the shaman, his paraphernalia, and the sick person in both Tibetian and Sámi divination rites, Sommarström goes on to say that "... the differences are small and only reflect differences between settled and nomadic conditions, respectively. The main structure is essentially the same: operator, his apparatuses, and the client; and thus a general approach should be possible to the problem of 'what really happens' in the interrelationship of these three parts acting in states of trance, *independent of cultural context* (1989: 132. Italics added)."

Sommarström then proposes that the newer models of "reality" be applied to this problem, and briefly examines the possibilities contained in the holographic paradigm. Pointing out the limitations experienced in many branches of science from physics to psychology in working with the analytical (or digital model), he points out that "quantum physics has now taught us about the interior connection between all processes and all phenomena" (1989: 135). How similar this is to the archaic shamanic wisdom that all things are connected! As psychological-anthropologist Joan Halifax puts it:

> In shamanism [the notion of interdependence] is the idea of the kinship of all life, the recognition that nothing can exist in and of itself without being in relationship to other things, and therefore that it is insane for us to consider ourselves as essentially unrelated parts of the whole Earth. (1987: 220)

Sommarström then goes on to suggest that if one accepts the many-world interpretation contained in the holographic paradigm it could shed light on what is really going on in the shamanic séance. He writes:

> This 'many worlds' model resembles, appearently, basic features in traditional shamanic systems, most of which have a Universe consisting of Upper, Middle, and Lower Worlds, and sometimes sub-realms. (Sommarström 1989: 135)

To my understanding, Sommarström is making in his paper a very well argued and historic statement of the reality of non-ordinary reality. He closes by asking, "Is it then possible to transcend ordinary laws of 'reality,'

especially time and space? Is this still only a matter of religious faith, philosophical classification, etc., or could this kind of phenomena be studied experientially within the frame of the new cross-scientific conceptual frames?" (1989: 136).

The answer, of course, is yes. These phenomena can be studied experientially and empirically, and no, this is not only a matter of philosophical classification or religious faith. In fact, shamanic work has never been a matter of religious faith, or as Hoppál (1987: 95) suggests, a system of beliefs. The work of the shaman has always been a matter of *experience,* experience which outside observers could not accept as being "real" because of their own limited understanding of reality, and so they labeled it as religious faith, imagination, beliefs, superstitions, insanity, or even play-acting.

Personal Experience and Explanation

Like many people, in my younger days I had several powerful experiences which I could not explain, and, growing up in our culture, I had no idea how to use these experiences, or even that they could be used. Then, in my early thirties, I did have an experience of non-ordinary reality where the veil which had been covering my eyes all of my life was removed. I was able to *see.* The Sun stood still in the sky, and the Earth stopped. I was there, the Spirits were there, and that was how it was, and that was how it should be. It was all perfectly normal. And it was all real, absolutely real.

To say that I was confused after this experience would be an understatement, but one thing was for sure: I had been to the World of the Spirits, and I had returned. I knew that it existed, and, most important, that knowledge and awareness have never left me.

Some time later, I recognized this as an initiatory experience. It was undisciplined, but that is to be expected in the beginning of anything. The first step is meeting the spirits. Later, one learns how to talk with them, how to work with them. These lessons are taught by an ordinary reality teacher. After these have been learned come the *real* lessons in shamanism — from the teachers in non-ordinary reality (cf. Handelman 1967a; Handelman 1967b).

I renewed my friendship with anthropologist Michael Harner, whom I had known well in New York. Best known today for his work with applied,

practical shamanism, the principles he works with he refers to as "core shamanism" (Harner 1980), in that they are not based on any one culture's use of shamanism, but rather on that central core of classic shamanic practices which are, or have been, found all over the world. Examples of this are sonic driving as an aid for the journey to the middle, lower, and upper worlds of non-ordinary reality, association with spirit teachers and helpers, and the treatment of illness by the removal of harmful intrusions and/or the restoration of spirit power.

In our work together over the years it has become abundently clear that the ability to shamanize is something which all humans are born with (Harner and Doore 1987; Horwitz 1989), but which our civilization's process of socialization does its best to submerge, if not strangle. It has also become absolutely clear that the use of drugs is definitely not necessary when one wishes to change the state of one's consciousness. To enter the shamanic state of consciousness, the use of singing, dancing, and drumming works as well today with modern people as it did thousands of years ago with our paleolithic ancestors.

For several years now I have been working with shamanism on a disciplined, personal level, both to seek help in my own transformation, and also to help others with their physical, spiritual, emotional, and practical issues and problems. To do this, I use shamanic rites which have been taught to me by my teachers in both realities, and in order to illustrate some of the points made in this paper I will use some of my own experiences and observations.

From the point of view of an outside observer who knew about shamanism *but was not in a shamanic state of consciousness,* it could seem that one of these rites could be divided into several parts, according to my appearant actions, for example, 1) preparation, 2) calling the Spirits, 3) diagnosis, 4) extraction of misplaced Spirit intrusions, 5) the shamanic journey, 6) the return of lost Spirit power, 7) the giving of thanks.

In fact, that which goes on in non-ordinary reality does have some relationship to what appears to be going on, but the setting is entirely different, to say nothing of the people present. Already in the preparatory phase, as I clean my paraphernalia in smoke, my state of consciousness starts to change, I become aware of the nearness or presence of some of my spirit-helpers, and my awareness of the ordinary reality participants of the séance starts to fade. Sometimes my helpers have advice for me when they come, and when I call to the spirits of the Earth, sometimes a hole opens for me and I can see directly down to where my teacher in the lower world lives. For the observer, it would seem that I was shaking

my rattle at the ground in a dimly lit room. What is really going on is that I'm looking down on my Teacher's home from an altitude of about twenty meters, and she's looking up at me and it's a beautiful sunlit day, or maybe it's a rainy evening. Already at this point she often gives me very important instructions on how to go about treating the person I am working with, for example what is causing the problem, what can be done about it, and which ones among my helpers I should go to for assistance.

When it comes to the diagnosis, it may seem that I'm passing my left hand back and forth over the person I'm working on, while I shake my rattle with the right hand. Indeed, this is also happening in non-ordinary reality, because at this point I have one foot in *each* reality, as it were. What is also happening is that at least one of my helpers is by my side, or maybe sitting on the other side of the patient, and we're talking about what I'm finding or not finding, and what to do about it. The possibilities are almost endless. The main thing is that even though I do have one foot in each reality, the part of me that is in ordinary reality is occupied with the very mundane aspects of the work, for example, moving the client's hand from his stomach so that it's possible to get ahold of the giant leech under his navel.

At some point during the rite I often make a journey to the upper or lower world on the person's behalf, either for information or lost spirit power, or both. As these journeys are very similar to the myriad journeys reported in the literature, it is not necessary to include one here (for journeys experienced by people involved in the revival of shamanism, see Harner 1980; Horwitz 1989; Ingerman 1991). However, the point at which I make the journey is not off-handedly decided, but is a decision arrived at together with my helpers. During this key part of the rite itself I may have a month's experiences within half an hour, as a journey into non-ordinary reality is a journey outside the limitations of time as we ordinarily experience it. Those participating in the ritual are generally aware of the power which comes as a result of the journey, and in some cases even witness some of the events which I experience. But to the detached observer I'm just lying on the floor, with an assistant drumming.

Epilogue

One of my teachers in this reality, Pahponee, a Kickapoo medicine woman and shaman, once told that her Grandmother, in the spirit world, told her, "You know these rituals are only needed when humans have lost their

understanding of the greatest ceremony — Life itself. These things you already know. The greatest ceremony you can do is to live each day in a sacred way. Then you will be well off and so will those around you."

As we all also know, it has not been possible for most humans to live according to this seemingly simple advice. To make up for this loss, we have the other rituals, among them, the shamanic rituals. The purpose of this paper has been to show by expressing the shamanic point of view that most of the previously practiced methods of investigating the shamanic rite have only shown half the picture. The examination of the form of the rite is only a part. For a deeper understanding, it is also necessary to examine the rite's content. Taking the shaman's point of view into consideration, listening to how the shaman describes his experiences, and honoring that description as valid, is the first step. But to understand the content, — that is, *the spirit power* — it is necessary to go *into* the form. To do so is surprisingly easy, if one wants to. It is just a matter of becoming accessible to that power.

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ANTOON GEELS

A Note on the Psychology of *Dhikr*

The Halveti-Jerrahi Order of Dervishes in Istanbul

Introduction

Prayer has often been regarded as the most central aspect of religious life, "the very soul and essence of religion" (James 1902: 365). Within world-religions the role of prayer is particularly important in Islam. Ritual prayer (*salat*), performed five times a day, belongs to the fundamental obligations of all Muslims. In addition to this fact, there is another type of prayer, associated with mystical orders in all Islamic countries. It is a type of repetitive prayer, similar to for example the Jesus-prayer within Orthodox Christianity, Nembutsu within Japanese Buddhism, or Japa in Hinduism (see Anawati and Gardet 1961: 189 ff.; Gilsenan 1973: 157 ff.).

Repetitive prayer (*dhikr*) in mystical Islam (*Sufism*) belongs to the most central activities of the orders. Despite the geographic spread of the Sufi orders (*turuq*) "it is rare to find in the literature any but brief accounts of its most important ritual, the *dhikr*" (Kennedy 1974: 205). Psychological commentaries are even more scarce. The aim of this paper is twofold: to describe this ritual as it exists today within the Halveti-Jerrahi order of dervishes in Istanbul, Turkey, and to present a preliminary psychological analysis of the ritual.

The Jerrahi branch of the Halveti (Arabic *Khalwatiyya*) order was founded by Pir Sultan Seyyid Muhammed Nureddin el-Jerrahi, who was born in Istanbul in the year 1089 of the Islamic era (1687).[1] A few years before Kemal Atatürk closed the meeting places (*tekkes*) of all mystical orders (in 1925), there existed about ten tekkes belonging to the Jerrahi order. The closing of the tekkes did not prevent the members of the orders from quietly continuing with "underground" activity. Today you can still visit a number of sufi-fraternities, using a variety of names in order to "cover"

[1] See Yola (1982) for more information about the founder and the history of the order. See also the introduction to the Irshad of Muzaffer Ozak (Nasr 1988).

their real activities. Officially, the Jerrahi branch is a "Foundation for Research and Conservation of Turkish Sufi Music and Folklore" ("Türk Tasavvuf Musikisi ve Folklorunu Arastirma ve Yasatma Vakfi"). The authorities naturally are aware of their existence, and once in a while they pay a visit in order to check if the activities are in harmony with the name on the door-plate. In one of the numerous books written by the 19th Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak, some of them translated into English, it is clearly stated that the order is "avoiding any political involvement" (Ozak 1988: xix). The present Sheikh Sefer Efendi succeeded Sheikh Muzaffer when he passed away in 1985.[2]

In the description of the background and actual practice of the *dhikr* ritual I have used a tripartite distinction, proposed by Sam D. Gill (1987). Gill considers prayer as "*text,* that is, as a collection of words that cohere as a human communication directed toward a spiritual entity ...; as *act,* that is, as the human act of communicating with deities including not only or exclusively language but especially the elements of performance that constitute the act ...; as *subject,* that is, as a dimension or aspect of religion, the articulation of whose nature constitutes a statement of belief, doctrine, instruction, philosophy, or theology" (Gill 1987: 489).

It is my conviction that religious phenomena like repetitive prayer should be considered from different levels of understanding and analysis. For several years now I have been attempting to apply a multi-dimensional model of analysis in order to study different types of intense religious experiences (see Geels 1990; Geels 1991). The basic approach in this model can be described in the following way. The starting point is the interactionistic view, according to which man must be studied in relation to his social environment. The model I usually apply is in no way controversial in its general outline. It is relatively common, for example, within psychosomatic medicine. The first and broadest level in the model is concerned with society at large, with all its norms and values, in short — society's definition of reality. The scientific discipline on which I am building here is the sociology of knowledge, more precisely the kind represented by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966). Here we are concerned with religion as a legitimation of society at large and the life of the individual on a micro-level. As far as the present subject is concerned, this level touches upon the reality as defined by Islam, more particularly Sufism and the theory and practice of *dhikr* as described in the tradition.

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[2] For a list of the first 19 Sheikhs of the Halveti-Jerrahi order, see Sukri Efendi 1980: 69 f.

The next level in this model deals with social milieu. The scientific discipline is social psychology. Relevant objects for study are, for example, the importance of the Sufi fraternity as a group and the role of the Sheikh. Especially interesting is the type of reference group theory presented by T. Shibutani (1955). A reference group is defined as "that group whose perspective is assumed by the actor as the frame of reference for the organization of his perceptual field" (Shibutani 1955: 569). The definition of the concept "perspective" is important for our purpose. A perspective is "an ordered view of one's world — what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events and human nature. It is an order of things remembered and expected as well as things actually perceived, an organized conception of what is plausible and possible; it constitues the matrix through which one perceives his environment" (Shibutani 1955: 564). When studying, for example, the religious experiences of a person within a certain group it is necessary to study "how a person defines the situation, which perspective he uses in arriving at such a definition, and who constitutes the audience whose responses provide the necessary confirmation and support for this position. This calls for focusing upon the expectations the actor imputes to others, the communication channels in which he participates, and his relations with those with whom he identifies himself" (Shibutani 1955: 569).

The third level in the model focuses on man as an individual, the study of intrapsychic processes. The scientific discipline used here is psychology, particularly ego psychology and its cognitive components. At this level I will apply a model of personality, based on ego psychology (see below).

The fourth and final level is the somatic one. The scientific discipline here is physiology. What religious techniques are used to produce physiological changes? How are these changes interpreted by the individual within the frame of his conception of reality? We can see that, in the context of the somatic level, we also touch on the other levels of the model. We move from overall descriptions of reality via groups to the individual with his psychological and physiological capacities. The aim of this multi-dimensional model is a holistic description and analysis of human behaviour and experience, both in the secular and religious spheres.

Dhikr as Subject — Remembrance of God

A General Description

Remembrance of God, *dhikr,* is generally divided into two branches: recollection with the tongue (*dhikr jali*), and recollection in the heart (*dhikr kafi*). Despite the fact that the spoken *dhikr jali,* most often performed collectively, plays a significant role, *dhikr kafi* is regarded as the superior way (Schimmel 1975: 171). Classical Sufi texts generally refer to the recollection in the heart, performed in solitude (Gardet 1965: 224).

The problem of whether *dhikr* should be private and silent or collective and spoken has been a matter of debate within different orders. Representatives of the two positions naturally try to find support in the Koran and the Hadiths. However, the Koran and the holy tradition are not explicit on this matter.

There are numerous verses in the Koran referring to the necessity of remembrance of God. The Koranic basis for this practice, often referred to by famous Sufi authors, is the exhortation "... mention thy Lord, when thou forgettest" (Surah 18: 24). Other frequently quoted verses are 33: 40: "O believers, remember God oft", or 13: 28: "in God's remembrance are at rest the hearts of those who believe". Another verse contains a promise that the rememberer also will be remembered: "Remember me, then, and I will remember you" (Surah 2: 152). In addition to these verses there are quite a number of Hadiths supporting the practice of *dhikr.*[3]

The verses quoted from the Koran do not mention *how* Allah is to be remembered. However, for the Sufis these verses were loaded with a specific significance: the possibility of being close to God, of a direct experience of His presence. To be near God simultaeously means to be at a distance to your self (*nafs*), the components of the human personality (see Shafii 1985). "True *dhikr* is that you forget your *dhikr*", says an early Sufi master (quoted in Schimmel 1975: 172). Another example of this inhibition of self-consciousness, the psychological dialectic between the remembrance of God and forgetfulnuss of the self (*nisyan*), are the following lines, written by As-Sahlagi (quoted in Ogén 1982: 236):

Those who remember [their act of calling God to remembrance] during their calling God to remembrance are more negligent than those who are forgetful [of

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[3] It is now regarded as highly probable that the technique of repetitive prayer was influenced by early Syrian Christianity and, earlier in history, by the Stoic philosophers ("remembrance of God" *mneme Theou*) and the Hebrew Bible ("remembering", *zakar*) See Baldick 1989: 17.

their act of calling God to remembrance] during their calling God to remembrance for [the act of] calling Him to remembrance is other than He.

It goes without saying that experiences of the type described, the total annihilation of self-consciousness, are not common. This brings us to the subject of different types of *dhikr,* and whether there are stages leading to this annihilation.

Roughly speaking, there are three stages to be distinguished. The first is "*dhikr* of the tongue", which should be performed with the "intention of the heart", not as a routine repetition of a divine name. This stage can be further divided into two steps: a voluntary recitation, with effort; and an effortless repetition, when the dervish according to al-Ghazzali "leaves off the movement of the tongue and sees the word (or formula) as it were flowing over it" (quoted in Gardet 1965). The second stage is *dhikr* of the heart, also characterized by two steps, similar to the ones already mentioned. The heart (*qalb*) was regarded as the seat of the "knowledge of divine things". The third stage, finally, is the *dhikr* of the "inmost being" (*sirr*), "a substance more subtle than the spirit (*ruh*)", the place of the experience of *tauhid,* unification. At this last stage we again touch upon the total annihilation of the self-experience, the personality of the Sufi.

In later Sufi texts this spiritual development can be described in seven stages. One example is Ash-Sha'rani, a sixteenth century Sufi writer, who explains this sevenfold *dhikr* in the following way (quoted in Schimmel 1975: 174):

dhikr al-lisan, with the tongue; *dhikr an-nafs,* which is not audible but consists of inner movement and feeling; *dhikr al-qalb,* with the heart, when the heart contemplates God's beauty and majesty in its inner recesses; *dhikr ar-ruh,* when the meditating mystic perceives the lights of the attributes; *dhikr as-sirr,* in the innermost heart, when divine mysteries are revealed; *dhikr al-khafiy,* the secret recollection, which means the vision of the light of the beauty of essential unity; and, finally, the *dhikr* akhfa al-khafi, the most secret of secret, which is the vision of the Reality of Absolute Truth (haqq al-yaqin).

So far we have only discussed a few basic aspects of *dhikr* within Sufism in general. We will now focus our interest on the Halveti-Jerrahi order of dervishes in contemporary Turkey.

Dhikr as Described within the Halveti-Jerrahi Order

The following description is based mainly on the English books written by Muzaffer Ozak, the nineteenth Sheikh of the Halveti-Jerrahi order. In

addition to these sources I will use taped recordings of talks by Muzaffer Ozak, given in the USA at the end of the 1970s and the first half of the 80s.

Remembrance of God has at least two different meanings. In a more general way it means for the dervish to be attentive to God, independent of what he is doing. "Whatever job he does, whatever his business may be, it never distracts him from Remembrance of God" (Ozak 1981: 60). To forget God puts man on a lower level than animals, for even the animals remember their creator. In fact, the whole of creation is in constant motion and in this motion, on different degrees of awareness, "all created things remember and glorify God, Exalted is He, in accordance with their proper motions" (Ozak 1981: 116 f.). This idea is beautifully expressed in a poem by Yunus Emre (d. ca. 1321), of which a few verses are cited below (Ozak 1981: 73):

> With the rocks and mountains high,
> Let me call, my Lord, on Thee.
> At the dawn with birds that fly,
> Let me call, my Lord, on Thee.
>
> With the fish beneath the sea,
> At the dawn, with "Woe is me!"
> Crazy with the cry "O He!"
> Let me call, my Lord, on Thee.

During his informal discourses, Sheikh Muzaffer often refers to the verse quoted earlier from the Koran: "Remember Me, then, and I will remember you" (Surah 2: 152). In this general sense, all Sufi literature means remembrance of God. That is why the well-known Muslim scholar S. H. Nasr, in his introduction to the *Irshad* of Muzaffer Ozak, can write that the goal of this great book, covering almost seven hundred pages, "is to guide man to the remembrance of God, to *dhikr Allah*" (Nasr 1988: ix).

In a more limited sense *dhikr* is connected with repetitive prayer as an *act,* as *text,* i.e. the different words used, and as *subject,* i.e. different statements of belief, instructions, legitimations and the like, associated with *dhikr.* The first two of these aspects will be presented below. The third dimension, or at least some parts of it, will be discussed here.

Apart from the second Surah, quoted above, Muzaffer Ozak finds Koranic justification for *dhikr* in several other chapters of the Holy Book, especially Surah 3: 191 (Ozak 1988: 378; Ozak 1981: 77, 98).[4]

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[4] Other verses quoted by Sheikh Muzaffer are 33: 41; 29: 45; 62: 10 (Ozak 1988: 378).

those that remember God when standing, sitting, and lying down, and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth, saying: 'Lord, You have not created this in vain. Glory be to You!'

In a commentary on this verse Sheikh Muzaffer underlines the importance of remembrance in all three basic postures. The reason is permanent remembrance and therefore the avoidance of sinful acts and disbelief; the reward is to be remembered at the day of resurrection (Ozak 1988: 385 f.).

Muzaffer Ozak presents many arguments in favour of public *dhikr,* as against private, silent *dhikr.* Like other Sufis, he regards the ritual prayer (*salat,* Turkish *namaz*), shared with all Muslims, as the greatest *dhikr* of all (cf. Schimmel 1990: 187). Three out of five daily prayers, Sheikh Muzaffer continues, are pronounced aloud. In addition to that there is the Friday prayer, the recitations of Allahu Akbar, "God is greater [than everything]", and so on. "What greater proof and evidence could there be, therefore, for the permissibility of public *dhikr*?" (Ozak 1981: 70 f.).

Muzaffer Ozak also argues in favour of the dervishes' different movements, like whirling, circling, and turning. These practices are justified in the Koran, where it is written that "you shall see the angels circling around the Throne, giving glory to their Lord" (Surah 39: 75, quoted by M. Ozak in Ozak 1981: 129). The Prophet was the first to practise whirling, which was also legitimated by Abu Bakr, Ali, and the founders of the four schools of Islamic law (Ozak 1981: 122 f.). The circumambulation and turning around the Kaba in Mecca is also a kind of whirling (Ozak 1981: 77). Again we can notice how Muzaffer Ozak, like other Sufi writers, refers to basic Muslim activities like the ritual prayer and the circumambulation around the Kaba as a legitimation of traditional Sufi ceremonies.

It is striking that Muzaffer Ozak primarily refers to the Prophet Muhammed and his successors. References to famous Sufi authors are scarce. Sufi practices of the Jerrahi order are, at least in the literary expression of Sheikh Muzaffer, connected with basic aspects of Islam in general. This observation does not mean, of course, that connections with the mystical tradition are missing. As in most other types of religious mysticism one should always be reminded of the distinction between "outer" (*zahir*) and "inner" (*batin*) meanings, as far as Koranic interpretation and religious practices are concerned. In connection with a discourse on ritual prayer (*salat*), Muzaffer Ozak writes that every element of it has "a profound inner meaning in addition to its formal, outer aspect." The inner meaning of washing your face, arms, head, ears or feet, as a preparation for the ritual prayer, is "among other things, promising to turn the face only

toward Allah, to use the arms only for purposes pleasing to Him, to crown the head with His commands, not to listen to bad things, and to walk away from evil" (Ozak 1988: 168 f.).

The "inner" meanings can be concealed in different ways. One way is the excessive use of a metaphorical language, containing bacchic and erotic symbolism. Metaphors are poly-interpretative and facilitate doctrinal defence when attacked by, for example, representatives of the orthodoxy. A considerable number of Sufi saints suffered from persecution by government authorities. Some of them, like al-Hallaj and Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, were executed for their convictions. That is one of the reasons why Sufis "very early felt the necessity of developing a symbolic language which says everything to the initiated but nothing to the common man" (Schimmel 1987: 87). In the case of the Jerrahis, there exist numerous short stories containing both an outer and an inner, spiritual meaning (see e.g. Ozak 1988: 168 f.). One of my informants from the Jerrahi order mentions another factor, far more important to the dervishes themselves: the impossibility to put inner experiences into words.

Another way of guarding the esoteric dimensions of the tradition is to keep parts of it secret (see Schimmel 1987). In one of the unpublished pamphlets of the Jerrahis, the "Question Manual" (*Sualname*), questions are often answered with phrasings like "that is one of the secrets" or "more cannot be told to non-members of the path".

It is perhaps unnecessary to mention that verbal descriptions of *dhikr*, like the one in the present article, belong to the "outer" category. However, a few other parts of this outer dimension should be discussed. The first aspect is *dhikr* as an act of purification. The *tauhid, la illaha illa-llah* "cleanses tamished hearts" (Ozak 1981: 82). "If a person says *la ilaha illa-llah* just once with love, he removes four hundred sins" (Ozak 1988: 385). In a more general sense, remembrance is to remove "bad and ugly qualities" from the heart. There is a *hadith* saying: "All things have a polish. The polish of the heart is the Remembrance of God" (Ozak 1981: 122).

Another important aspect of divine remembrance is the description of different stages. According to Muzaffer Ozak there are seven stages:[5] Public (audible) *dhikr;* private (secret) *dhikr; dhikr* of the heart; *dhikr* of the spirit; *dhikr* of the mystery of the spirit; *dhikr* of the mystery of the inmost heart; *dhikr* of the mystery of the mystery (Ozak 1981: 67).

These stages correspond to the seven degrees of spiritual development, mentioned in the "Question Manual". Firstly there is the sympathiser

[5] In Ozak 1988: 384, the first two stages are omitted.

(*muhib*), who visits the *dergah* or *tekke,* attends the Sheikh's gatherings (*sohbet*), and works on the Divine Names. Secondly, there is the disciple or novice (*murid*), committing himself to the Sheikh's authority. The third degree is the devotee, the *sufi,* who progressed to the "noble circle", a follower of the obligations of the Sacred Law, "in constant struggle with the carnal self (*nafs*)". Then comes the degree of the *dervish,* who in addition to all previous activities obtains peace of mind. The fifth degree is the *veli,* the friend of God, a stage not described in the text, since it is beyond the "personal accomplishments" of the author. The last two stages are the *murshid,* the spiritual guide, and *fena fillah,* annihilation in God.

The last stage is also described as the ultimate aim of *dhikr.* In the words of Sheikh Muzaffer: "Love of God is a flame that burns up and annihilates everything in the heart except the love of God" (Ozak 1981: 102). This is the mystery expressed in the words "Die before you die". The same message is repeated in different mystical traditions. The father of neoplatonism, Plotinus (ca. 204–270), uses the words "cut away everything", i.e. everything that is not the One, the Absolute, in other words different aspects of the human personality (see Plotinus, The Enneads, 5.3.17). The great Christian mystic Meister Eckhart mentions the necessity of "putting aside everything that is yours" ("leg abe allez daz din ist") (Pfeiffer 1924: 209, 23 f.). Elsewhere I have called this aspect of mystical theology the categorical imperative of mysticism — to reach beyond individuality and loose your self, your ego, in order to dissolve totally in God, thus realising the "true Self". This is what Plotinus describes as "a flight from the alone to the alone". When Eckhart writes that the human soul, at the height of its experience, "sinkt von Nichts zu Nichts", he is probably expressing the same universal experience as Plotinus and the Sufis in their expression *fana fi Allah,* annihilation in God.

Dhikr as an Act

Other Descriptions of the Ritual

Scientific literature treating Sufism is extremely text-oriented, focusing on ancient texts, often written by legendary Sufis.[6] It is difficult to find detailed anthropological observations of the *dhikr* as a ritual act (cf.

[6] See Baldick 1989, for criticism of the sources.

Kennedy 1974: 205). One of the earliest accounts of the ritual can be found in the well-known book of E. W. Lane, who presents the "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians", first published in 1836.

Lane described several observations of the *dhikr* ritual in Egypt. Dervishes from different nations and different orders met in a large ring, repeating "Allah" over and over again. At each repetition they bowed the head and body and took a step to the right, so that the circle moved rapidly round. He also observed a Turk, a member of the Mevleviyyah, whirling in the middle of the circle, his arms stretched to his sides and his dress "spread out like an umbrella". After about ten minutes he joined the group and the dervishes now jumped to the side instead of stepping. A smaller circle of six dervishes was formed in the middle, exclaiming the same name at an even higher speed (Lane 1978: 426 f.).

At another occasion Lane was in a street called Sook-El-Bekree, close to the burial-ground of a dervish Sheikh. Every Thursday night a *dhikr* was performed at this place. About thirty persons were gathered, sitting cross-legged upon matting extended close to the houses, forming an oblong ring. At one end of the ring four singers (*munshids*) were sitting together with a player of the náy-flute. From their position Lane was able to observe and describe the ritual as fully as he could. His observations can be summarized in the following way.

The Sheikh exclaimed "El-Fatihah!", after which the whole group recited the opening Surah of the Koran. They proceeded with a chant, asking God to favour Muhammed and all other prophets and apostles. Then there was a short period of silence and after that another recitation of the Fatihah, this time silently.

After this preface the dhikr started with the formula of divine unity at a slow speed: *La illaha illa-llah,* bowing the head and body twice at each repetition. After about fifteen minutes they increased the speed, with correspondingly quicker movements. The singers sang portions of a *qasidah,* a poem, or of a "muweshshah", i.e. "lyric odes in praise of the Prophet" (Lane 1978: 172). Lane translated one of these lyrical odes, which contains a strong emotional tone, not unlike the Song of Songs.

The formula of divine unity was used once again, this time to a different air, for about the same time period. The "zikkeers", as Lane calls them, rose and repeated the same words to another air, emphasizing the word "Lá" and the first syllable of the last word "Alláh".

At this phase in the ceremony "a tall, well-dressed black slave" entered the circle. Lane was informed that the slave was a eunuch belonging to the Basha. The black slave became what is called "melboos" or possessed.

Throwing his arms about, and looking up with a very wild expression of countenance, he exclaimed in a very high tone, and with great vehemence and rapidity: 'Allah! Allah! Allah! Allah! Allah! lá lá lá lá lá lá lá lá lá lá láá lá láh! Yá 'ammee! [O my uncle] Yá 'ammee! Ya 'ammee 'Ashmáwee! Yá 'Ashmáwee! Yá 'Ashmáwee! Yá 'Ashmáwee!' His voice gradually became faint; and when he had uttered these words, though he was held by a darweesh who was next to him, he fell on the ground, foaming at the mouth, his eyes closed, his limbs convulsed, and his fingers clenched over his thumbs. It was an epileptic fit: no one could see it and believe it to be the effect of feigned emotions; it was undoubtedly the result of a high state of religious excitement. Nobody seemed surprised at it; for occurrences of this kind at zikrs are not uncommon. (Lane 1978: 443 f.)

Another well-known description of the *dhikr* ritual was presented by W. H. Haas (1943), who studied the Rahmaniya-order in Algeria, an order which like the Jerrahis in Istanbul is a branch of the Khalwatiyya. The psychophysiological analysis of Haas focuses on the breathing techniques which, Haas is convinced, are of Indian origin. There are, of course, a number of variations between the *dhikr* rituals of the different orders. However, the overall pattern of the ceremony is similar to Lane's description and the one presented below. There is a preface, consisting of recitations of litanies; the repetition usually starts with *La illaha illa-llah* and continues with other divine names like *Allah, Hu* ("He"), *Hayy* ("the living"), and *Qaiyyum* ("the Eternal", or "All Sustaining"). Those names, remarks Gilsenan, emphasize the transcendent, absolute aspects of God. Names like *Ya Rahman* ("O Merciful One") would imply "be merciful", which is a personal aspect of God not belonging to the proper purpose of *dhikr*. "The concentration is on the Absoluteness of God, in His Transcendent, Eternal Being, *not* His attributes such as those of Mercy and Compassion. No action by God is requested, or expected in the *dhikr*. From this point of view the *dhikr* is non-instrumental in character" (Gilsenan 1973: 167 f.).

Other similarities are, for example, the changes of tempo, the strong emotional commitment, the rhythmical breathing and rhythmical body movements, reinforced by a group of singers and musical instruments.[7]

Dhikr as an Act — the Halveti-Jerrahis in Istanbul

It is a Thursday evening in October 1989. On Thursdays *dhikr* usually is performed. Turkish people from all social strata meet in the *dergah* (Turkish: *tekke*) in Istanbul to express their love for God and their longing

[7] For further descriptions of the ritual see, for example, Kennedy 1974; Gilsenan 1973: ch. VI; Gairdner 1912; Trimmingham 1973: 204 ff.

for a direct, personal experience of His Presence. Before the *dhikr,* most of them perform the evening prayer together. Afterwards the dervishes meet in the big hall of the *dergah.* There are at least a hundred of them. Many wear short, woollen jackets without sleeves (*khirqa*), a survival from the early centuries of Sufism, when the ascetics were dressed in woollen garments as "a mark of personal penitence" (Gibb 1957: 132). The dervish receives this woollen frock and a dervish cap (*takiye*) from his Sheikh during an act of initiation (*biyat*). For the pupil (*murid*), this initiation has a special meaning. It connects him with an unbroken chain of transmission, going back from sheikh to sheikh, to the Prophet Muhammed.

As usual there are some guests, other Muslims (or non-Muslims) from Turkey or abroad, visiting scholars, or dervishes belonging to other orders. This time there is a small group belonging to the Rifa'iyah order, also known as the "Howling Dervishes", due to their loud, dramatic *dhikr.* The presence of the visiting guests reflects the open attitude of the Halveti-Jerrahis. The only basic doctrine which the Jerrahis adhere to is *tauhid,* the unity of God. According to one of my informants the *tauhid* is "the basis of religion — the verification of the Unity of God, and the belief in all prophets, as bearers of the same message. Belief in the Prophet Muhammed, peace be upon Him, includes belief in all prophets".

Simultaneously, the *tauhid* expresses the human possibility of coming near to God, who is closer to man as "his jugular vein" (Surah 50: 15). The first part of the doctrine of *tauhid,* the doctrine of the unity of God, unites the greater part of the world's religions; the second part, the direct experience of union with God, is a common denominator of religious mystics within world religion.

When the Sheikh enters the hall, he greets those present with the words "as salamu 'aleykum", "peace be with you", and the dervishes answer "wa aleykum as selam wa rahmetullahi wa barakatuhuuuu...", "may God's peace, grace, and blessings be with you". The ending "Hu", i.e. "He", one of the divine names of Allah, is prolonged. Then the Sheikh sits down with his back turned to the niche in the wall facing Mecca (*mihrab*), whereupon the dervishes also sit down with their arms crossed on their chest. As usual there is another dervish, dressed in the garment of the Mevlevi-order, the "Whirling Dervishes". The Mevleviyyah trace their spiritual chain (*silsila*) to the mystic and poet Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1273). This feature again illustrates the open-minded attitude or the religious syncretism within the order. The love for God can be expressed in different ways.

All the dervishes sit on their heels, forming a circle (*halqa*), their heads bowed in humility and concentration. The circle is a symbol of unity, and at the same time a representation of the visible world, where the dervishes are gathered to express their love for the beloved — Allah. The whole ceremony is loaded with symbolism.[8] The sheepskin post, where the Sheikh is sitting, is said to be the symbol of submission, "the mystery of dying before dying".

The Sheikh starts the ceremony with prayers (*du'a*), and the recitation of the *wird,* i.e. a litany of Koran verses and prayers, belonging to the spriritual path (*tariqa*) of the order. He mentions, among others, names of earlier Sheikhs in the spiritual chain of the Jerrahis, asking for their blessing. He also expresses the dervishes' love for Allah and the Prophet. The dervishes respond to the prayer with the word *amin,* Arabic for Amen. One of the dervishes enters the circle and places an incensory on the floor. Then he bows in front of the Sheikh in the traditional manner: arms crossed on the chest and the right toe on top of the left toe. Symbolically it is the position of the body when laid in the grave. The greeting symbolizes his submission to the will of God, the Prophet, and the Sheikh. He withdraws without turning his back to the Sheikh for at least three steps.

After the *du'a,* the Sheikh says "*al-Fatiha*", the name of the opening Sura of the Koran, commanding all those present to repeat this Surah mentally to themselves. Then all dervishes sing a devotional chant, a hymn of praise and a prayer to God to bless the prophet Muhammed. Towards the end of the chant the dervishes stretch their hands with the palms upward and rub them in their faces, a symbol of receiving divine blessings. The Sheikh then says more prayers, mentioning prophets and wishing, with their help, to achieve good health for the people present and those not present. About eleven minutes have passed since the Sheikh entered the hall.

The *dhikr* starts immediately after these prayers. This evening the Sheikh chose to proceed with a song, honouring the unity of God. At a slow tempo the whole group sings the first part of the *shahada: La ilaha illa-llah,* "there is no God but God", and as a sort of accentuation they repeat the name Allah, three times. For almost ten minutes the dervishes sing these words of divine unity, over and over again, in a melodious way. Then, on a signal of the Sheikh, they increase the speed, mentioning the

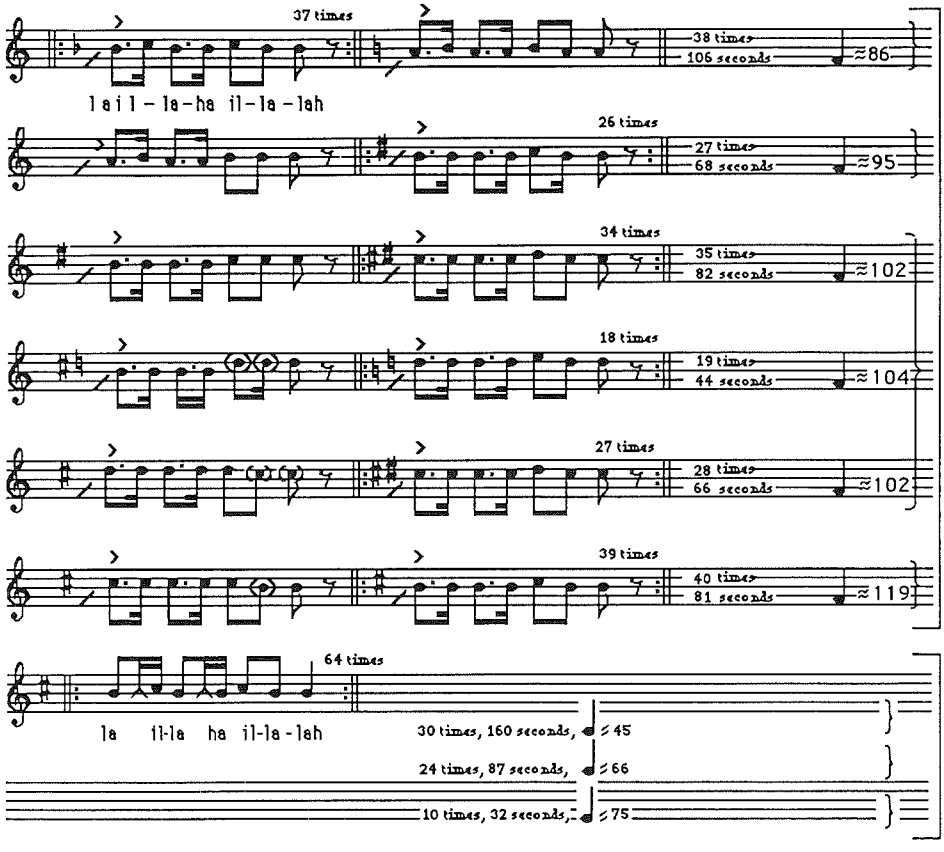
[8] The source of this symbolic interpretation is an unpublished pamphlet, distributed among dervishes belonging to the Halveti-Jerrahi order.

name of Allah only once after the formula of unity. At the same time they turn their bodies to the right when pronouncing the negation of the formula: *La ilaha,* "there is no God". When uttering the affirmative part of the formula, the words *illa llah,* "but Allah", they turn their body to the left, the direction of the heart. In order to emphasize this symbolic expression for the love of God, many dervishes put their right hand on their heart.

The mystical interpretation of this first part of the *shahada* has been described as an illustration of "the movement of going forth and return" (Price 1969: 64). In addition to this Interpretation the author quoted writes as follows. "The emanation of created things, things other (*ghair*) than God (*ma siwa 'llah*), is shown by the words *la ilaha* (No God), while their return to Him is indicated by *illa 'llah* (but God). This is the consummation of *tawhid* (unification), the reintegration of all things in the one from whom they sprang."

After this song of unity the proper *dhikr* starts. In a monotonous way the words *la illaha illa llah* are repeated over and over again. The rapidity of the prayer does not permit large body-movements. Instead, the dervishes turn the head to the right and left, in the same symbolic manner as before. The singers play an important role in the ceremony. From a general point of view they stimulate the participants to perform a good *dhikr,* concentrating on the love for God. More specifically, the song indicates when the *dhikr* has to change to a higher or lower pitch. At that moment one of the singers sings a *qasida,* a hymn of praise directed to the Creator and the Prophet. Such hymns often focus on "the mystery of God's beauty and majesty, His grace and wrath, and the marvels of creation" (Schimmel 1975: 163). Most dervishes keep their eyes closed in order to concentrate on the *dhikr* and the melodious songs.

After only two and a half minutes the Sheikh claps his hands as a signal to increase the speed. In the meantime, one of the more advanced dervishes enters the circle, bringing some pieces of clothes on a tray and a bottle of water. The clothes normally belong to members of the dervishes' families. The water was fetched from the well close to the burial-place of the former Sheikhs of the order. All the dervishes in the inner circle, where the more spiritually mature are sitting, breathe on the objects in order to transmit the divine power obtained during the *dhikr.* This power will be beneficial to the persons to whom the pieces of clothes belong. The water will be given to other sick people. Since the Sheikh is regarded as a person possessing great power, the dervish in charge of this particular ritual dwells no less than about forty seconds in front of him, waiting for



A notification of *la illaha illa llah* at different tempi. Λ is a symbol for strong inhalation. (The author wishes to thank Håkan Lundström, music-anthropologist in Malmö, for the notifications.)

the Sheikh to breathe out upon the object. The objects are held only one or two seconds in front of the other dervishes. In the words of one of the more experienced dervishes: "The Sheikh is the channel through which the healing power of God flows."

As soon as the objects are being carried away, the Sheikh, after a little more than five minutes, again claps his hands in order to increase the speed of the *dhikr*. After about one and a half minute the Sheikh signals again, this time changing to a slower speed, but still using the same formula, expressing divine unity. The lower speed enables the participants to sway and simultaneously bow their bodies to the right and the left in large movements. The eyes are still closed. The speed of this *dhikr* increases

two times, first after about three minutes, then again after one minute and forty seconds. Half a minute later the Sheikh announces the end of this part of the *dhikr.* The dervishes remain in a short moment of silence, awaiting the next divine name.

This particular evening the Sheikh exhibited another deviation from the traditional Jerrahi *dhikr.* In most cases there will be a recitation from the Koran at this point of the ritual. Today the dervishes, at a signal from the Sheikh, continued with short, thrusting repetitions of the word Allah. During these repetitions the dervishes turn the head rhythmically to the left. Like earlier this evening, the Sheikh claps his hands on two occasions in order to increase the speed; the first time after one minute, and the second time after about forty seconds. Almost one minute later the Sheikh stops the prayer. This *dhikr* is not accompanied by recitations or songs.

The next divine name in the ritual is *Hu,* i.e. "He". When repeating this holy name, the dervishes make minor movements of the head towards the left. It is a short exercise, lasting only one minute, without accompaniment of the singers. When ended, one of the singers recites four verses from the Koran, to be precise Surah *al-Anfal* (8: 1–4):

> They will question you concerning the spoils. Say: 'The spoils belong to God and the Messenger; so fear you God, and set things right between you, and obey you God and His Messenger, if you are believers.' Those only are believers who, when God is mentioned, their hearts quake, and when His signs are recited to them, it increases them in faith, and in their Lord they put their trust, those who perform the prayer, and expend of what We have provided them, those in truth are the believers; they have degrees with their Lord, and forgiveness, and generous provision. (Transl. by A. J. Arberry)

The headline of the Surah, "The Spoils", refers to the battle of Badr in AD 624. It is difficult to understand how the first verse could be related to the *dhikr,* unless you apply an allegorical interpretation, which is quite common within Sufism. According to one of my informants the first part of the verse quoted refers to the "greater war", i.e. the war with the ego, the carnal self. The following three verses are, of course, loaded with significance for the dervish. This is the time when his heart is filled with love for God and trust in his words, as revealed in the holy Koran, being recited at this very moment. During the recitation the dervishes sit relaxed, contemplating the revelations of the Creator.

Directly after the recitation the Sheikh says a prayer of a similar type as during the initial phase of the ritual. It is a prayer expressing good

wishes for all people, and asking for blessings from the prophets. As before, the dervishes respond with the word *amin.* Then the Sheikh says "al-Fatiha", and the dervishes respond: "Allahumma salli 'ala seyyidina Muhammad". The words express a benediction upon the Prophet, asking God to bestow blessings upon him. Afterwards all the dervishes repeat the Fatiha silently. This is the end of the first phase of the *dhikr.*

During the second phase of the ritual the dervishes are standing up, arms crossed on their bellies, still forming a circle. They start to sing a song similar to the former initial phase, praising divine unity. The song lasts for slightly more than two minutes. After that the Sheikh says a short prayer, to which the dervishes again respond with the words "Allahumma salli 'ala seyyidina Muhammad". This sort of dialogue-prayer is repeated three times. Then the Sheikh says *Ya, Allah!* and the dervishes answer with the divine name *Hu.* At this moment the dervishes take each others' hands and start to move to the left in the circle, in the direction of the heart. There is a cosmological symbolism hidden in the circling of the dervishes. The whole universe circles, like planets around the sun, like electrons around their atomic nucleus. In the words of Muzaffer Ozak: "The entire universe is dancing and whirling with God's love" (Ozak 1981: 114).

While the dervishes are pronouncing the name *Hu* they turn the head to the left. In the background we hear the singers sing an *ilahi,* a devotional song. Most of them are in Turkish. One of the favourite poets in the Jerrahi-tradition — and all over Turkey — is the medieval poet and mystic Yunus Emre (d. ca. 1321). It is typical of the style of Yunus Emre, and other Turkish popular poets, to mention his own name in the last verse of the poem.

The singing of the name *Hu* lasts for hardly a minute. Then we arrive at a dramatic and beautiful moment in the ceremony. The Sheikh raises his voice and pronounces another of "the ninety-nine beautiful names" of Allah: *Hayy,* "life", "always living". The dervishes release their hands, put their left hand on the left shoulder of the dervish on one side, and the right arm around the waist of the dervish on the other side. They continue to move in the circle, the right foot slightly behind the left one. The Mevlevi-dancer starts his elegant dance in the centre of the circle and the singers raise their voices in order to inspire the dervishes with another beautiful *ilahi.* Rhythmically and with feeling the dervishes repeat the name: *eh-hayy, eh-hayy, eh-hayy,* strongly exhaling, and simultaneously turning to the left. Most of them still have their eyes closed and express their feelings in a blissful smile. Annemarie Schimmel has described the

impression you can receive as a participant-observer, words with which I can fully identify (Schimmel 1975: 176):

> Anyone who has had the opportunity to attend such a rhythmical *dhikr,* with its increasing tempo and its reduction of words until a kind of permanent sighing is reached, knows that even a noncommitted listener is easily carried away by the strength of the experience.

In the beginning of this part of the ceremony, the Sheikh frees himself from the circle and invites the guests from the Rifa'i-order to practise their own style. In two pairs, standing opposite each other, dressed in black caps, as contrasted to the white caps of the Jerrahis, the Rifa'i dervishes cross their arms and move rhythmically to the right and left while repeating the divine name.

This is a rather long part of the *dhikr,* lasting about six and a half minutes. Then the Sheikh signals with claps of his hands in order to increase the tempo. The singers take up another *ilahi;* the dervishes move faster in the circle. Two dervishes play the drum in order to indicate the rhythm. Slowly, the speed increases more and more. Suddenly, almost two and a half minutes later, the Sheikh pulls one of the higher dervishes out of the circle. The guests are signaled to stop with their style and join the group, which is now regrouping in a spiral, encircling the Sheikh. After a short while the turning stops. The dervishes continue repeating *Hayy,* which is all the more impressive since the singers just stopped their song. Only the sighing sound of a short, thrusting, pulsating *Hayy* is audible while the dervishes at the rhythm of the drums bend and stretch their knees. It is like a "universal breath of mankind, breathing in unison, breathing as one body and beating as one heart reaching for God" (see note 8). The Sheikh is at the centre, standing still, and representing the *qutb,* "pivot", symbolizing the axis mundi or the Pole around which the spriritual life of the dervishes revolves. After a short while a solo singer starts to sing a prayer, expressing peace and blessings from the prophets.

We are now approaching the end of the second phase of the *dhikr.* For a short moment, one and a half minute only, the dervishes repeat the divine name *tauhid,* i.e. the unity of God. Some of the dervishes shout "Hayy" in a strong emotional way, seemingly out of order. Then the Sheikh again signals to take up the name *Hayy,* which the dervishes repeat at a high speed. During half a minute only they pronounce *Hayy* about sixty times, while bending their bodies vertically up and down. Then the prayer stops abruptly. The Sheikh says a few prayers, the dervishes answer *amin.*

Finally one of the guests says "al-Fatiha", to which the group responds with the words "Allahumma salli 'ala seyyidina Muhammad".

The third phase is quite different from the first two, at least as far as the position of the dervishes is concerned. Instead of a circle they are now standing in rows opposite each other. In between the two groups of rows, sheep-skins are placed on the floor. This is the place where the Sheikh and the singers will be sitting shortly. As contrasted to the first two phases, when the singers were in a position outside the circle, they are now "inside", i.e. in between the two groups of rows. On the short side of the rows, opposite the *mihrab,* young boys are standing. From there they can both observe and participate in the *dhikr* ritual.

While the dervishes are regrouping and the sheep-skins are being laid on the floor, all the dervishes sing an *ilahi.* The song also marks a break, a short period of rest, during which the dervishes concentrate on the final phase of the ritual. After the *ilahi* the Sheikh says a few short prayers, to which the dervishes respond with the same phrase as that mentioned above. Then one of the dervishes starts repeating the name Allah in a rather slow, singing manner. Soon they all join, while the singers and the Sheikh in the middle sit down between the two rows. When seated, the singers start an *ilahi,* which intermingles with the large group, singing their devotion to Allah, bending their bodies rhythmically to the right and the left. After hardly two minutes, when the name of the poet is mentioned, the Sheikh gives the signal to change to another divine name. At a slightly higher speed and with strong commitment the dervishes praise their creator with the words *Allah-hayy,* "Allah-the living one", "life", keeping their right hand on the chest. The bodily movements are somewhat different now. The dervishes still bend their bodies to the right and the left, but the difference is as follows. After bending the body to the right, they stretch up, lean back to the left and turn their head ninety degrees to the right, repeating the same movement in the other direction, over and over again. While the dervishes are moving as described, the singers are engaged in an *ilahi* written by Yunus Emre.

After about one and a half minutes, shortly after the name Yunus has come up, the dervishes change *dhikr* to the word Hayy, strongly exhaling and with a short "eh" before — *eh-hayy, eh-hayy, eh-hayy.* The speed is about forty-eight repetitions a minute. The sound of the drums keeps the rhythm of the *dhikr.* Many of the dervishes are smiling. A solo singer expresses his love for Allah with a *qasida.* When he finishes, the group of singers take over and sing a new *ilahi,* followed by another solo singer. Poems are usually sung by a solo singer and they are taken up

spontaneously. Ilahis are selected before the *dhikr*-ritual.

After four and a half minutes the tempo of the *dhikr* increases to sixty repetitions a minute. A solo singer accompanies their prayer with another hymn of praise. About one and a half minutes later the speed increases to eighty-six repetitions a minute, while the singers take up a new *ilahi,* followed by a blind *hafiz* (who knows the Koran by heart) singing a poem. Almost three minutes later the group of dervishes change *dhikr,* saying *Allah ya da-im,* i.e. "Allah, oh Everlasting One". At first the speed is rather slow, about twelve repetitions in a minute. The voices are going up and down, following the tone of the singer. The body movements are rather peculiar. With relaxed arms and while bending their knees the dervishes turn ninety degrees to the right and to the left. When turning to the left, they put their right hand on the chest, in the region of the heart. The repetition of this name continues for another four minutes, accompanied by several solo singers.

After this tribute to the immortal God, the dervishes take up a new divine name, which is difficult to identify because of the strong breathing sound. According to a blind *hafiz,* trained as he is to listen, it is Allah-Allah-Hayy. The exhaling rhythms can be divided into three parts: long-short-long, all in one period of exhaling. In the background we hear solo singers and *ilahi's,* sung by all singers. This part of the ritual lasts for about five minutes. The dervishes either cross their hands on their bellies or grip the lapels of their *khirqa.* They sway rhythmically to the right and the left, and simultaneously up and down by bending their knees.

For about half a minute the dervishes are silent. The singers take up a new *ilahi,* accompanied by heavy strokes on the drums. Immediately after the *ilahi* a solo singer starts his song and the Sheikh claps his hands in order to indicate the tempo of the new *dhikr* to come. The dervishes now return to the divine word *Hayy,* pronouncing it at a speed of about ninety words a minute. The relatively high speed of the repetitions does not allow large body movements. The dervishes bow slightly forward, bending their knees rhythmically at the same time. After almost three minutes, the tempo increases to one hundred repetitions a minute, a speed which they keep up for about two minutes. Then the singers slow down the tempo, resulting in the slowering down also of the *dhikr.* The Sheikh rises to his feet and indicates the rhythm of the next divine name: *Hu.* During almost a minute the dervishes pronounce *Hu* at a speed of about ninety repetitions a minute. The body movements are more quiet now. The dervishes bend their bodies slightly forward at each repetition. In the background a solo singer starts his hymn of praise.

We are now approaching the end of the ceremony. The Sheikh says a few short prayers, the dervishes answer with the word *amin.* The dervishes are standing still with their arms crossed on their chest. Some of the guests say "al-Fatihah" and the dervishes respond with the same words as those mentioned above. Their hands are stretched out in front, in a gesture of receiving, and then put to their faces in order to take in the beneficial value of the blessings. The last "al-Fatihah" is pronounced by the Sheikh. The ending ceremony consists of a song, praising the greatness of Allah. Immediately after that the whole group pronounces the name Allah, without stopping, a moment during which some dervishes, a Sheikh or elder, say some prayers at a very high speed. Suddenly one of the dervishes, one of the guests from the Rifa'i order, raises his voice, saying a long *ya Allah,* and all the dervishes respond with a long, extended Huuuuu in a successively lowering voice. Finally the Sheikh leaves the room, saying "as salamu aleykum", and the dervishes answer with the words "wa aleykum us-salam wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuhu", "may God's peace, grace, and blessings be with you".

After the *dhikr* the dervishes sit down in small groups, talking to friends and drinking tea. The Sheikh returns to the group and gives those present a chance to ask questions, either in public or in private. Usually it is late at night when they all return to their homes.

Dhikr — a Multi-dimensional Psychological Commentary

As has been mentioned above, psychological commentaries on the effects of *dhikr* are extremely scarce. One of the few existing ones was published almost half a century ago by Haas (1943), who studied the Rahmaniya-Order in Algeria. Haas emphasizes two aspects, two ways which "converge to bring about the final state of abnormal consciousness, the *hal.* The one uses the technique of suggestion and hypnotism; the other relies on the technique of breathing". Both the recitations, the litanies and the form of the circle, Haas continues, facilitate the atmosphere of suggestion. In addition to these factors Haas mentions "the role of the Sheikh, how he fixes his eyes upon the friars as any hypnotizer does" (Haas, 1943: 24 f.). This last mentioned observation may have been valid during the time and in the place where Haas performed his study. My experience from the Halveti-Jerrahi order of dervishes in Istanbul during the years 1989–90 is quite different from the observations of Haas.[9]

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[9] After reading this statement of Haas, my informant sent me the following story. "A dervish once brought home his brothers each a moustache comb. The Shaikh on

Haas touches upon some of the levels of analysis I mentioned in the introduction of this article. My comments will now be structured in accordance with these four levels, with the emphasis on the psychological interpretation of the ritual.

At the socio-cultural level we cannot, of course, underestimate the importance of the religious tradition in general and the history of Sufism in particular. It is reasonable to assume that most members of the Halveti-Jerrahi order have not studied the basic texts of Sufism. The most important way of transmitting this tradition is through direct, verbal instruction, through informal discourses (*Irshad*) of the type published in the book "Wisdom of a Sufi Master" by Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak (Ozak 1988). Another way of transmission is on the personal level: questions and answers (Turk.: *Sohbet*). The dervish is supposed to reveal his life to the Sheikh, who also gives advice on personal matters and interprets dreams. In addition to these factors I can also mention the different pamphlets and other printed and photo-copied material spread among the members of the order. As far as the new generation is concerned, young boys are allowed to participate in the *dhikr,* as part of their religious socialisation.

At the social-psychological level I referred to the concept of reference groups as defined by T. Shibutani (1955). The advantage of this concept, for our purpose, is that it also focuses on perceptual dimensions of group dynamics. Bearing this concept in mind we can observe the following factors.

The dervishes belonging to the Halveti-Jerrahi order are a reference group, sharing the Halveti-Jerrahi definition of reality, consisting of their own texts, songs, poems, and their own *tarikat*-jargon or symbolic language. Every time a member of the order meets in the *tekke,* this part of their overall definition of reality, this perspective, is particularly activated. This is the perspective used to define the situation: an evening dedicated to the practice of *dhikr,* leading possibly to a direct experience of His Presence, a "taste" of God. This is an important part of the expectations the dervish has on a Thursday evening. The responses of the group-members imply a reinforcement of this perspective. Besides being an evening dedicated to *dhikr,* it is also a social evening, when the dervishes share a meal together, chat, exchange ideas, and listen to their Sheikh.

The dervishes are also aware of the place they have in the group, having certain responsibilities and occupying certain places in the spiritual hier-

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receiving none, asked: 'And where is mine?' whereupon the derwish replied: 'I did not know you had a moustache'. In twenty years he had never raised his head in the presence of the Shaikh." (So where then is the effect of the "hypnotic gaze?").

archy. Concerning the last mentioned aspect, however, my informants told me that only the Sheikh knows their exact stage of spiritual development. They only have an approximate idea of their spritual maturity, and they are usually well aware of the "elders" in the group.

During the *dhikr* the importance of the unity of the group is stressed by the way the group is formated — in a circle and as two lines of rows opposite each other. Another factor stressing the unity of the group is the dervishes holding each others' hands or putting one arm on the shoulder and the other around the waist of the dervishes next to them. When, in the ritual, all the dervishes circle in a spiral around their spiritual leader, the importance of the Sheikh can hardly be observed with greater clarity.

This brings us to the question of the role of the Sheikh and the relation between him and the group of dervishes. Submission under the guidance of the Sheikh is of the utmost importance. In the words of Sheikh Muzaffer: "Those who wish to be able to attain Reality and to experience Inner Knowledge of the self, by obediently worshipping God, Exalted is He, with his sincerity, absolutely must submit to the instruction and training of a perfect spiritual guide" (Ozak 1981: 150).

The Sheikh as the "connecting Bond" (Ozak 1981: 155) should always be respected and kept in mind. When approaching the Sheikh, the pupil should be in a state of external and internal ritual ablution (Ozak 1981: 158). The role of the Sheikh for the dervishes, as spiritual guide, adviser, interpreter of dreams, cannot be underestimated. In the words of Yunus Emre (quoted in Ozak 1981: 170):

> Come, brother, if it's the Truth you seek,
> There's only one way — through a perfect guide.

The Sheikh is the one who directs the *dhikr* ritual. The dervishes are extremely receptive to the directions given by him during the ritual. Even if during the *dhikr* the pupil forgets himself, he should be aware of his Sheikh. This is called "the degree of annihilation in the Sheikh" (Ozak 1981: 158). After this degree of *fana* there are three deeper levels of annihilation: in the Founding Saint of the Order; in the Messenger; and in God (Ozak 1981: 158).

With the concept of *fana* we touch upon the third, psychological dimension. Just as the dervishes themselves make a distinction between different degrees of *fana,* we can from a psychological point of view differ between partial and total annihilations. The question is whether we can find out which components of the human personality are being annihilated. In

order to reach such an understanding it is necessary to start the analysis from a model of personality. The model I have been using for several years now is based on ego psychology, especially its cognitive dimensions.

The ego is a rather complex structure in modern psychology. Epstein distinguishes between the representational and functional aspects of the ego. With the help of the former, the individual constructs a differentiated view of himself and the outside world, called self- and object-representations. The functional system consists of adaptive, defensive, mediative and synthetic functions. I will now introduce a more detailed presentation of these aspects of the system ego. It is important to remember, however, that it is a theoretical model of a complex structure, a dynamic system which, like a thermostat, all the time strives after equilibrium or homeostasis.

The first substructure in the functional system is called the adaptive functions of the ego, a term connected with the work of Heinz Hartmann (1958). The adaptive functions are responsible for adaptation to reality. It has at its disposal a number of abilities or dispositions which are inherited, e.g. perception, memory, intelligence, language. These functions are autonomous and they help the human being to adapt to this environment. The concept adaptation refers to all processes that serve man's biological, psychological, and social survival. With this concept Hartmann connected psychoanalysis with both cognitive and social psychology. It is difficult to understand the complex human being without taking these important branches of psychology into consideration.

Classical psychoanalysis talks about the constant war of the ego, a war with three fronts: impulses from the id, the norms and values of the super-ego, and the demands of the environment. The most important weapon system at the disposal of the ego are the defensive functions. They also serve man's adaptation to his environment, more particularly to his psychological environment. In contrast to the former function, however, the ego's defence mechanisms are not inherited but acquired under the influence of the socio-cultural milieu. Anna Freud (1946) has presented a systematic survey of man's defence mechanisms which are activated in order to cope with threatening impulses from the unconscious id. We should remember, however, that the ego can use any psychological process to achieve its goal: to avoid psychological pain, chaos, and establish order.

The third substructure in the ego's functional system is called the mediating function, which corresponds to the classic psycho-analytical view of the ego — acting as a mediator between the id and the super-ego, or between the id and the environment. In the course of development the ego

successively increases its control over the impulses from the id. Naturally, the defence mechanisms play a considerable role in this controlling process. This illustrates once again that the different functional parts of the system ego should be regarded as a whole, not as isolated parts.

The synthetic function is the fourth and last substructure in the functional system of the ego. It is an "organ of equilibrium" (Hartmann 1958: 39), which strives for balance in a constantly shifting psyche. The synthetic function "assimilates alien elements (both from within and from without), and it mediates between opposing elements and even reconciles opposites and sets mental productivity in train" (Nunberg 1961: 122). The most important synthetic functions, according to Nunberg, can be summarized with the following concepts: assimilation, simplification, generalization, unification. Nunberg emphasizes, however, that the synthetic function can use any psychic process in order to achieve its goal: equilibrium, order, balance (1961: 125). Even "hierarchies of values" can have a synthetic function. In this context Hartmann points to the psychological importance of religion as an integrating factor (Hartmann 1958: 75 ff.).

The other large substructure in this ego-psychological model of man is the representational system, i.e. the process of relating to and representing objects. An object can be a thing, a person, or a happening. This theory belongs to the great landmarks of psychoanalysis during the 60s, 70s, and 80s. It is my impression that the distinction between the ego's functional and representational system is no longer a point of great controversy (see e.g. Hartmann 1958; Sandler and Rosenblatt 1962; Jacobson 1964; Schafer 1968; Rizzuto 1979; Rothstein 1981; Epstein 1988). According to Rothstein the two systems are in an important way related to each other. He mentions, for example, that this relation facilitates our understanding of "intrasystemic conflicts" (Rothstein 1981: 440).

Inner representations are closely related to memory, with the help of which we code, process, and store information, which can be retrieved in useful forms in specific situations. The end of this process is called a representation. This means that a representation cannot be regarded as an isolated happening. In the words of Rizzuto: "it is the result of the synthetic function of the ego organizing a multitude of memorial experiences. The final synthetic result of that most active process is a highly significant representation for the needs of a particular moment" (Rizzuto 1979: 56). Rizzuto mentions here another example of the relation between the functional and representational system.

The representational system consists of self- and object representations "in ever changing states of integration" (Rothstein 1981: 440). The basic

task of this system is to make us "psychologically viable people in the real world" (Rizzuto 1979: 55). In other words, it serves the overall need of adaptation.

During the course of development a self- or "I" representation will be developed within this inner representational world. This means that, in this model, the "I" is not identical with the ego. The "I" is rather one component in a composite structure. The "I" is described as "the self-representation as agent". The "I" is developed from the ego's continuous sensation of itself (Rothstein 1981: 440; Epstein 1988: 64). Development means increased differentiation and integration. During this process the "I" is differently constructed in relation to other substructures of the ego. This implies that there is not one single "I" but multiple self-representations, actualized in different situations.

From this point of view the *dhikr* can be described in the following way. The repetitions of divine names with corresponding movements of the body are examples of verbal and motoric monotony. This monotony can lead to an alteration of ordinary perceptual and cognitive processes, in other words a partial inhibition of the ego's adaptive functions. The relation to the environment is partially inhibited. This simultaneously means a weakening of the defensive functions, which explains why certain dervishes give free way to their emotions. Such expressions can also be observed during the Friday prayer. Recitation of the Koran in the mosque can be extremely emotional, leading to Muslims getting in touch with suppressed anger or other feelings. Such happenings are rather common during *dhikr* exercises and they are generally accepted by the group. I have observed this phenomenon on almost every occasion. The dervishes in question move a-rhythmically and exclaim their agony in shouting the name of Allah and phrasing their feelings in different ways.

On the representational side of the personality model we can describe the *dhikr* ritual as an activation of those representations which are connected with the ritual, i.e. a specific part of the perspective of the Sufi. The whole object of the ritual is to lose self-consciousness, to be annihilated in the Sheikh, the Founder of the Order, the Messenger, or Allah. In the words of my informant this means "submission of personal will, of the self to the group. ... The dhikr should be done so as not to be aware of your own voice. ... Thereby, the individual becomes able to overcome the illusion of his false 'Self' consciousness". From our point of view this is, in most cases, not losing self-consciousness, but to inhibit the representation of the "I" as an acting agent. This does not lead to an inhibition of the complex ego structure.

The functional and representational aspects of personality are naturally related to each other. The monotonous exercises not only alter the dervish's relation to his environment, they simultaneously inhibit the "I"-representation as an active agent. This is one of the most common experiences in world-religions, described as *mushin* ("without mind" or "without minding") in Zen-Buddhism, the experience of *anatta* ("no-self") in buddhism, as "Entwerden" or "Entmenschen" by the German mystics and *wu-wei* ("non-action") by Chinese Taoistic philosophers. This common experience leads to a more of less differentiated view of man, to a mystical psychology, also well-known within Sufism (see, for example, Shafii 1985). At the bottom of this personality there is the human capacity to reach union with God, in Sufism the *Sirr Allah.*

I assume that the majority of dervishes do not enter into an altered state of consciousness in the sense that they lose the experience of the "I" as an active agent. This, of course, is a rare experience within Islam as in other world-religions. Inhibitions of functional and/or representational aspects of the human personality are most often partial with, in the case of the dervishes, continued awareness of, for example, signals from the Sheikh. However, it is reasonable to assume that most dervishes experience changes in their organisms, due to their specific way of breathing. We now touch upon the fourth and final level of analysis — the physiological level.

The aspect of hyperventilation in connection with Sufi practices has been pointed out by, among others, David M. Wulff (1991: 71 ff.), who relies mainly on the research of Rouget (1980). Physiologists usually discuss the hyperventilation *syndrome,* exhibiting symptoms like cramp, dizziness, light-headedness, stiffness, and tetany (Smith 1985). From my point of view, however, it is important to study this biological aspect within the context of the four levels of analysis. In this way we are able to avoid the "nothing-but-fallacy" reducing intense religious experiences to a biological level. This type of medical materialism has been criticized all the way from the famous classic of William James (1902) to the epoch-making work of David M. Wulff (1991: 106 ff.). Physiological changes like dizziness or light-headedness are interpreted within the frame of reference of the Sufi world-view, with or without the aid of the Sheikh, who in his turn relies on the Sufi tradition of *dhikr* and its Koranic justifications. Again, this is an argument for a multi-dimensional analysis of intense religious experiences.

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OWE WIKSTRÖM

Liturgy as Experience — the Psychology of Worship

A Theoretical and Empirical Lacuna

Introduction

This article has three aims: 1) to plead for an approach to the study of the liturgy based on the psychology of religion, 2) to draw up a preliminary theoretical model for how the liturgy can be interpreted, and 3) to narrow down the field for further interdisciplinary development and empirical analysis.

The liturgy is — from a historical viewpoint — the ritual centre, the socially supported and architectonically accompanied symbolic world within which Christian religious experience has emerged and through which people could/can (?) find an answer to their life questions. Religious language is not "silent" in the liturgical event, it does not consist merely of a textual mass that is read intellectually or privately; rather, it is a part of common and integrated "fictional contract" or stylised role play: praise of, prayer to, forgiveness for and acceptance of a message from "the Other". An interdisciplinary study of religious rite and place could develop this further.

The service in the Swedish Lutheran church has changed in a decisive way during the second half of this century. This is also true to some extent of the non-conformist churches. The liturgy of church services has, after enormous effort, been reformed. The work of reform has, in turn, been studied from historical, organisational and theological perspectives (Klingert 1989).

It is remarkable, however, that no real study based upon a behavioural approach has been made of what people actually experience when they attend one or other form of service and what factors affect their experiences.

This lack of information has meant that different actors on the ecclesiastical scene can more easily project their own wishful thinking into the liturgy. It can be claimed that the service provides meaning, security, a sense of closeness or that symbols or gestures, communion or the position of the altar create the prerequisites for experiencing the holy or sacred. However, this is something that is assumed, hoped or presumed. From the academic point of view the field is theoretically diffuse and an empirical lacuna.

No study has addressed the question of the relationship or distance between what professional religious *believe* or hope that liturgies convey and what those attending a church service *actually* understand and experience. In all probability there is also a great difference between how a service is experienced by those with a considerable degree of theological education and training, ordinary "churchgoers" and those who just happen to find themselves in church for some reason or other. There are certainly differences between the young and the elderly, between men and women, etc. Different services serve different purposes for different individuals (see Helmbrock and Boudewijse 1990; Faber and Tilborg 1977).

In all probability — but we know very little about this — people undergo more or less strong experiences during and in conjunction with church services (Grimes 1984). Perhaps people are moved, experience holiness, reverence, fellowship or closeness to the risen Christ. The problem is what factors during the service strengthen such a religious experience. What is the role played by the music, symbols, the place or building where the service is held, the number of participants and the liturgical event? We can turn the question around and ask, "What is it about the service that *militates against* a spiritual, religious experience?" This latter question is just as important since it has been assumed in discussions within the church that the desacralisation, historicisation and wordy demystification of divine service can in fact be an instrument of secularisation. There has been a desire to bring back the sacred into church services. But instead of wonder, a feeling of sanctity and a transcendental experience has the most important experience perhaps been one of stiffness, boredom, strangeness or disappointment, especially among Christians?

In other words, in the psychological approach to the study of church services there are numerous questions that need to be examined terminologically, theoretically, methodologically and materially. It is for these reasons that the interdisciplinary project "Liturgy as Experience" has been initiated and a project group set up in the Department of Theology at Uppsala University.

These questions should not, however, be looked upon as of only internal ecclesiastical or religious interest. A development of the area "liturgy as experience" casts light on *interdisciplinary* problems, both in principle and of a more general nature, concerning the relationship between space–behaviour/experience, music–religious experience, experience–interpretation (Hesser and Weigert 1980). By linking it to current psychological theory (attributive, cognitive and dynamic psychology) the study can be related to the question of religious socialisation and change. By bringing different disciplines into contact with each other within the framework of a research group representing the history of art, liturgical studies, musicology, semiotics, ritual studies, the sociology of religion and the psychology of religion the greatest possible degree of penetration of the problem can be guaranteed.

The Scientific Study of the Liturgy

The rite, liturgy or service — whatever we term the phenomenon that is the focus of our study — has been studied primarily from three perspectives: that of theology, that of social sciences of religion and that of the history of religion.

The theological study of church services is often called *liturgical studies.* In Sweden this has generally meant a *historical* and systematic analytical branch of research. It has been customary to study the development of church services from the early church up to the present to see how cultural influences have set their stamp on the form and symbolism of divine service. The question has also been reversed and discussion has revolved around what significance church services have had for society and cultural expressions (Dix 1945).

Another trend in liturgical studies has been that of systematic theology — an attempt to arrive at an understanding of the religious arguments contained in one or another form of service, the place of the confession of sins, the conditional nature of absolution, whether mass should be celebrated facing the people, etc. Within liturgical studies there have also been more interdisciplinary projects that have looked at the interaction between place and liturgy, religious symbolism and its theological justification, dramaturgy, the place of music and change, etc. There are already lines within musicology, comparative literature, the history of art and architecture that examine these. In all three fields there is

a preliminary but so far undeveloped psychological reasoning about the liturgy as experience (Martling 1986; Ekenberg 1984).

Two social and psychological perspectives can be adopted in the study of church services. One concerns the social/cultural function of the service, i.e. its place and significance for church life and society in general, for the district, for customs and habits. The other concerns how different individuals experience church services.

The first field has been studied to some extent by *sociologists of religion.* However, attendance at church services has often been only one of many parameters of piety. By means of these measurements we can follow clearly at the national, diocesan and parish level developments and changes in baptismal customs, communion customs, in the frequency of high masses, the frequency of communion, etc. and reach a certain knowledge about who goes to church and for what reasons (Weelock 1984). In ecclesiastical sociology, in ethnology and in folkloristics there are interesting studies of baptismal, funeral and wedding customs, i.e. events that are linked with the human life-cycle.

However, when it comes to individual people's experiences of going to church, entering a church, hearing church bells, lighting a candle in a candelabra, listening to organ music, singing hymns, genuflecting during mass, etc. there are far fewer studies. This is remarkable since there is hardly any field which is more relevant in the *psychology of religion.* The mediation of religious traditions in today's secularised Sweden takes place almost exclusively in church. The main church services on Sundays are of the utmost interest both as religious mediation and as content. The psychology of religion can, for example, study reception, i.e. "the way the different elements that comprise a service are experienced".

At this point I should like to stress that I do not look upon the service as simply a pedagogical or communicative structure in which some form of knowledge or ideas are mediated from A to B. The idea of a sender (the minister or the gospel) and a receiver (the churchgoer) needs to be supplemented with a model which more clearly underlines that from the psychological standpoint the special character of divine service/mass — as opposed to many other forms of cultural activity — is that those who attend a church service themselves take part in creating what they experience. From the socio-psychological point of view the liturgy constitutes rather a kind of stylised play with fixed roles, a religiously legitimised form of behaviour within a given fictional contract. Gestalt psychology, the theory of theater and ritual studies can offer important theoretical perspectives for renewed understanding. A group of people who together

and repeatedly make use of a symbol world with the aim of re-creating and re-experiencing an imaginary religious world must be viewed from a socio-psychological perspective.

A third research approach is that of the history of religion or *the phenomenology of religion.* From a transcultural and interreligious perspective the liturgy is a type of rite or cult. It is — like other collective ritual events — a celebration that 1) sustains a memory or keeps events alive, 2) creates a social fellowship around this event, and 3) offers people an opportunity to "re-dedicate" themselves to this memory (Randall 1985).

A distinction is made in the phenomenology of religion between rites pertaining to different stages in life, "rites de passage", time-related rites and crisis rites. As a result of secularisation the justification for these rites may be transferred from religious to political, psychological and other secular attitudes to life. An analysis of the successive emergence of secular rites, not least in relation to our life-cycles, working lives, and the year would be of interest here, as would the function of these rites.

In such an analysis it is important to relate ecclesiastical liturgies to central concepts from Mircea Eliade's dichotomy sacred/secular, hierophany and ontophany and also to Tillich's symbol theories (Wikström 1990a; Wikström 1990b; Wikström 1992; Wikström 1993). In this way we can more clearly explain the religious function of church services by incorporating them into an interdisciplinary framework of a wider nature, not just a Christian one. In addition, ritual studies supplement the psychological functional perspectives with a more contentual one where the focus lies on the dichotomy sacred/secular.

The Liturgy as a Psychological Field

The topic "liturgy and psychology" is, in other words, a key research field in the psychology of religion but one which has been neglected. The psychology of religion strives to understand the conditions of religious experience. Church services constitute some of the few occasions on which religious tradition is mediated in modern society. Such tradition is hardly handed on in the home or in Sunday school. In children's religious instruction organised by the church and in pre-schools religious tradition has been subjected to ideological devaluation. In schools the principle of agnosticism predominates.

The sacred space and the holy service/rite probably play a doubly important role as mediators of religious tradition in the secularised society. Divine worship/the place where it takes place as a communicative space, as a semiotic space, as a communion of symbols, as a ritual presentation of mystical patterns are therefore of decisive interest in order to understand religious initiation and socialisation in a Europe characterised by many cultures.

Preliminary questions which might well be asked are "who attend church services, why do they go to church and what do they get out of it, both at the time and in the long term? What factors affect what churchgoers get out of attending church?"

Even from such general questions as these it can be seen that both the terms "church service" and "experience" must be precisely defined and operationalised in order to avoid vague generalisations. Multidimensionality must be avoided and a precise definition arrived at in order to proceed from vague speculation to exact clarification of a number of sub-areas that might be subjected to study.

The focus of interest for a psychologist of religion is *man* as an experiential and behavioural being; in this context man is seen in relation to the church service and where it takes place. The terms used are not those of theology, the liturgy, church history or the Bible but derive from the theoretical models of social psychology and its research. We speak of "social interaction between actors" and "ritualised intercommunication" or that a number of persons enter into a "fictional contract".

The Psychology of Liturgy — a Preliminary Model

How is it possible to obtain a preliminary theoretical understanding of the psychological factors contained in the liturgy as a whole? I am thinking of a church service in an average parish, on an ordinary Sunday, in an ordinary church with church bell, porch, pews, altar, some Christian symbols, church warden, organist, choir, minister/s who act, church elders greeting churchgoers and reading the texts, etc. However, the model needs to be extended so that it encompasses the Orthodox, Lutheran and Catholic churches. We shall concentrate on the church service as a rite and therefore the sermon will be accorded only secondary status.

I will limit myself to

- pointing out a number of basic questions concerning the relationship between the liturgy and religious experience.

- proposing a number of theses about the psychological role of the liturgy with the aid of which I will try — through analogy with psychological and sociological theory — to understand how different stages of the service affect people.

The Role of the Liturgy in the Genesis and Maintenance of Religious Experience

Religious experience can be formalised by saying that it consists of different elements in the individual, for example

- an experience of participating in something Different or holy which breaks the constraints of this world (the *Holiness* dimension)
- an experience that this "something" is the unfathomable existence ("I am"), the *Mystical* dimension, and/or is a person with a will, the *Dialogue with* God dimension
- an experience of being the object of the Holy One's/the Other Being's actions, i.e. the experience is a consequence of being "hit" from without (the *Intervention* dimension), not something one has created oneself.

I shall make a distinction between *an experience* in the sense of something felt, undergone on a single occasion and *experience* in the sense of a chain or series of events linked together. In concrete terms, the second sense means that one does not experience the holy, the sacred just once. Religious experience in the second sense often indicates that a person has undergone several experiences that together form a total experience. But language use in this respect often varies.

These three dimensions are closely linked. They often occur simultaneously. Christian theological systems develop the theological definition of these dimensions systematically into dogmas. "The Other Being's" activity, for example, is defined

- in the teaching that God exists in an eternal invisible world that is in, with or under this world
- in terms of God being a mystery but at the same time a person who is creator, redeemer and life-giver
- in terms of "before we seek God, He seeks us" Such teachings and dogmas have been expanded in different directions. They in turn have led to stylised architectonic, musical, poetic, literary and *liturgical* expressions.

From the *psychological* point of view historical or theological/dogmatic definitions of religious experience less important. The interesting question from the psychology of religion standpoint is to find similarities and differences on the experiential level between Lutheran, Orthodox and Catholic liturgies and to see how the theological definition of different liturgical elements, e.g. mass offering, the occurrence of Mary in symbolism, the singing of hymns or the use of incense, affects the churchgoer's total experience.

The focus lies on

- *describing* religious experiences undergone during a church service (fear, peace, joy, forgiveness, nearness to God, eternity, etc.)
- the psychological *conditions* under which these types of experiences are encouraged or discouraged during the liturgical event (music, symbolism, size of church or chapel, etc.)
- the *interaction* between the auditory, visual, verbal and spatial dimensions of the place where the service takes place and the actual service itself
- the *function* these experiences have for different individuals at the time and in the long term.

How can we identify the psychological factors in the service that should exist if these types of experiences are to occur? Put in another way, how can a psychological readiness for single religious experiences be created and sustained in an individual during a church service so that he may experience, momentarily or more constantly, existence in a religious way?

It is impossible to study religious experience *as a psychological phenomenon* if we *a priori* exclude our knowledge of the normal processes to which people are subject: i.e. perception, socialisation, symbol environment, linguistic treatment of internal experiences, interpretation of existential conflicts. In the following I shall address the liturgy primarily as a collection of symbols.

Liturgy as Acting within a Language Game

Without a common set of linguistic and social symbols it is difficult to *sustain an experience* of some holy thing or holy person. In their private spheres individuals may feel that they share in something Different, the sacred, be religious on the private plane, etc. However, if this experience is to be firmly established or rooted in the individual there needs to be

a fellowship through which the experiences can be legitimised verbally or symbolically in a social context; there needs to be a plausibility structure (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

Put in another way, the biblical terms "God", "spirit", "the granting of prayers", "salvation" become alive for an individual only if they are confirmed by other important individuals. The words, the conception of religious reality and its symbolic language — together with the experiences for which the words are an expression — have can survive value only if they are shared. Religious words are bearers of a meaningful content primarily because the individual is part of a social field where others live in a language game where the words refer to similar experiences. Here the ritual language and its interaction with the holy space play an important role. From the psychological viewpoint the "dual" character of religious language is also of fundamental interest (Sundén 1966).

Religious tradition is a language or a symbolic universe which incorporates man into a cosmic context that stretches "for ever and ever". This context is not only described verbally in the liturgy; it is also acted out bodily.

A key concept in the Christian — as indeed in the Judaic and Islamic — scheme of the world is that God lives and interacts with man. This dialogue experience is visualised and recreated in the liturgy as a *role play* where God is the one, invisible partner and man the other in a given interaction. The minister represents or symbolically "makes present" God by means of his liturgical role, for example, by raising his hands and blessing or forgiving the assembled congregation, or by distributing the bread and wine. The role play is emphasised by the liturgical apparel. The minister plays a stylised role which is legitimised by its allegedly transcendental origin and function, to relate or link God to man. Regardless of the theological view it is interesting from the psychological viewpoint to note that a service can be described as just such a drama between God and man.

The "Christian dialect" of this religious dialogue is found developed in the most important texts and semiotics of the liturgy, in hymns, in the sermon, of course, but also in the symbolic language of the liturgical garments, on the altar and in the architecture of the church. The cognitive content is accompanied by the music. This means that we detect a preliminary condition for religious experience; Christian tradition with its dual narratives.

Liturgy as a Cultural and Semiotic Act Embedded in a Christian Interpretive Scheme. This Scheme Colours both the Sacred Room and Rite.

A fundamental assumption in Christian belief is that there exists another — a truer — world where the Other lives and speaks to man through the Word and the Sacraments.

This contentual fundament marks the *symbolic environment* in which the liturgy takes place, the *texts* and hymns used to mediate the sacred tradition and the *way* in which the liturgy is performed by the different actors. The "relational experience" is already fixed and (in a double sense) cemented by the appearance of the church building. Through the symbolic language provided by the church, the position of the altar as a focus of attention or in the liturgical language where the priest symbolically acts out his/her part in front of the Other Being on behalf of the congregation but at the same time represents "the Other Being" to the congregation. The liturgical signs and symbols probably facilitate the mediation of the relation experience.

This "language" sits there so to speak and *waits for* the person entering the church. The altar is stripped during Holy Week, candles and flowers abound on Easter Sunday, etc. The outward symbolic language emphasises the cognitive content. The church or place where the service takes place, the obvious symbols interact both with the actors on the stage (in front of the altar) and with the congregation (the churchgoers) in a different way from in the theatre, at an opera or in a cinema. The churchgoer and the priest take part in a joint action. The *interaction* between the actors (the congregation — liturgies — musicians — choirs) and the outward symbols (church garments etc.) tend to heighten the degree of involvement.

A social alloy is created between the different actors (priest-congregation-organist etc.) on the "stage" where the service is "performed" partly through the common verbal, sung codes and partly through the common codes of behaviour. Hymns sung in unison constitute a psychologically important factor since by taking an active part the behaviour that many other people are sharing in "social facilitation" is increased. In addition, there other linguistic expressions — the joint confession of the faith, answering prayers, confession of sins, agreement, etc. There is a great difference between just sitting and listening on the one hand and, as in a church service, listening, watching, moving one's body, tasting, smelling on the other. Then there is the common body language of the congregation

— genuflecting, making the sign of the cross, bowing, going up to the altar, rising to one's feet during the reading of the gospel or when the procession approaches. All this "behavioural language" is in turn embedded in the overarching religious interpretive framework "the relationship with the invisible but nonetheless real Other Being" (Schieffelin 1955).

Liturgy as Verbal and Non-verbal Role Play

From one angle the liturgy can, then, be seen as a drama which is repeated time after time. This drama is not shown on a screen or a stage but it is the actual church building that constitutes the stage on which the participants themselves are the "actors". The members of the congregation act out a play where the Other — invisible, to be sure — is represented by the *cross* that is carried in, by the *bread* and the *wine* that are distributed and by the *hand* raised in blessing. It occurs in an even more tangible form when the churchgoers fall upon their knees to receive communion and "is" the disciple who receives the bread from Christ's hand. The people taking part in the service are on stage. The visual and auditory constituents in the mass are subordinated both to the "dialogue elements" and to the creative elements of the service. The confessional content is expressed in the liturgy both *verbally* and *non-verbally.*

Verbally there are the hymns that are sung, the texts that are read, the sermon that is preached, the interaction between the liturgist and the members of the congregation. The cognitive content of the religious texts is accompanied *non-verbally.*

The *auditory element* in the music accompanies and emphasises the religious content. Hymns sung during Lent are predominantly in the minor key, songs of praise in the major, evening hymns are meditative, etc. Church bells ringing are linked with an experience of sanctity, they call the people to church services, and they interrupt burial services when tolling the knell. The significance of church bells ringing probably serves the function of a religious experience since they accompany the actual introduction to services in the sense that they "spread" an air of sanctity since they are heard both within and without. The sound inspires associations with earlier services or childhood experiences. It is also a sound which in the middle of the liturgy — when the bells are rung for the dead — offers a moment of introversion and private meditation. It affects primary processes.

Then there is the church organ, an instrument regarded by many as sacred since it accompanies the hymns sung by the congregation and also because it is an instrument that marks the transition to the religious phase in the form of preludes and the return to the secular by means of the postlude. The musical constituent is *collectively active;* the congregation is invited to join in the singing of the hymns or antiphons where social characteristics are emphasised.

In the case of *private and passive* listening to the choir, soloists, instruments or organ the text may be important but in all probability the aesthetic musical expression is even more so. The music with its tonal language is subordinated to the overall "dialogue"; it is *expressive.* Christmas carols and Lenten hymns make it possible for the congregation to express their joy and longing, sorrow, repentance and self-control.

The *visual* as represented by the church itself emphasises the sacred. Different symbols in stylised form — altar, windows, paintings, candlesticks — point to the divine. The church or chapel constitutes a space which is at the same time social and focused. There is an obvious focus for the eye — usually a cross or altar — and this centre of focus is the same for all the members of the congregation. The garments worn by the celebrant — alb and stole — emphasise his role as a holder of office, that he is not present as a private person but he is subordinated to the message of dialogue that he speaks of; this is expressed visually in his apparel. It is made quite clear that he plays a role that is typified, he represents the people to God and God to the people. The progression from one liturgical colour to another is in turn linked with the system contained in the liturgical year. This in turn has its legitimate basis in the revelation that has the character of a dialogue. The candles that burn on the altar or that can be lit in a candelabra in conjunction with prayers of intercession represent calm and spiritual peace. They create the outward space around which the mental space is created that gives the kind of religious experience defined above.

Gestures and movements constitute a kind of body language; raising the hands points to the basic content, genuflecting, rising to a standing position to listen to the gospel, etc. are all a bodily expression of the cognitive content (DeMarinis 1990).

The liturgy itself is consequently a form of dramatised yet nonetheless stylised expression of the religious content it tells about. It offers typified, established and theologically legitimised codes of behaviour.

Liturgy as Drama Makes Involvement Easier

The focus of the liturgy — if we except the sermon — is not communication of an unambiguous message which is encoded, dispatched, decoded and evaluated; rather it is an expression of a complex of ideas that influences different moods.

The linguistic, the musical, the behavioural fellowship is built up about a centre which in theoretical terms can be described as an interaction between God and man. In the course of this interaction it is not just a question of talking *about* God but also *with* God. To bow one's head before the altar is away of expressing or acting out one's faith. When the churchgoer after hearing the liturgist proclaim "This is the word of the Lord" answers "Thanks to be God", it is a way of emphasising that there exists an invisible Other Being. Participation in an event, as opposed to just listening and accepting, probably strengthens the individual's involvement in what is taking place (Freundt 1969).

The Sacred Room, Beginning and End of the Ritual Underline the Fictional Contract

The beginning of the service is partly an auditory experience — listening to the church bells, partly the experience of entering the church through the door. The act of *leaving* the secular and *entering* the sacred, the process of actively trying to achieve silence, calm, reverence and peace, the rising to one's feet at the beginning of the service as the procession makes its way to the altar, the listening to the prelude to the first hymn — all these have as their aim the "starting up" of the religious experience.

There is a clearly defined outside and inside in a purely spatial and behavioural sense: one enters through a door. Passing through the very door itself means that the space unconsciously redefines the churchgoer; from being a person of the world and society he becomes the object of something unspoken and holy. Here the fictional contract is concluded. It is renewed continuously during the liturgy. After the blessing and the final hymn the process of readaptation to the secular world begins. The postlude is an introverted and private moment, and then the churchgoer leaves the church or chapel, possibly bowing to the altar as he or she departs. Outside there are greetings and handshakes, coffee is served in the parish hall and the social part of the meeting takes over. The service that has legitimised the fictional contract in a sacred way is over. Now

the members of the congregation have redefined themselves in terms of the secular world.

The Psychological Function of the Liturgy

Functional explanations and descriptions of religious experience, in religio-psychological research, maintain, for example, that "religious experience gives man a meaning, it offers security in the face of death, it gives a cosmic experience of sanctity, eternity, it creates a commonality of values, etc". It is important that the question of function be asked, defined and operationalised in connection with the question of what the liturgy *gives*.

We can preliminarily distinguish four ways of describing the function that a religious experience fulfils. It gives a comprehensive meaning to existential questions (an *cognitive* function). It provides an experience of the Other Being who invisibly accompanies man through his life-cycle and provides security (an *emotional* function). We can also see the religious experience as a way of receiving moral guidance and rehabilitation/forgiveness (an *ethical* function). Finally, the symbols and rites of the service give expression to a feeling of wonderment, awe, gratitude and joy when we are confronted with the holy (an *expressive* function).

Religious symbols objectify or "awaken" qualities that are latent within man. The liturgy narrows down, activates and reworks different types of human needs or motives. It is important to define all these functions and relate them to the liturgy and the different elements contained in it.

The liturgy *typifies experiential qualities* — healing, repentance, joy, fellowship, respect — which are expressed so to speak in condensed form and which are continually repeated and expressed in the form I/you in a kind of role play. There are a) experiences which present themselves in confrontation with existential questions concerning death, the meaning of life, suffering, the finiteness of time (cognitive function), b) experiences of wonderment, sanctity, gratitude, praise (the expressive function), c) experiences of responsibility and guilt (the ethical function), d) experiences of loneliness, insecurity, fear and its positive pole — trust (emotional function).

From a dynamic psychological viewpoint it may be said that questions concerning death always constitute a potential source of anxiety in man's subconscious. Man has constantly to repress such feelings in order to be able to function. The same is true of responsibility/guilt/suffering. The self-examination that forms part of the liturgy activates man's more or

less repressed *guilt* or consciousness of sin. The fear of *death* is activated during the Easter drama in the different variations in the mass during the liturgical year, *suffering* during Lent, futility during Holy Trinity which talks of *growing up* and social responsibility, etc.

The liturgy and its symbols — which change with the church year — consequently appeal to half repressed or unconscious levels in the listener. This is an interpretation from depth psychology. It also explains the psychological survival value of the communion liturgy. It corresponds to deeply felt needs to both give expression to and provide an outlet for uneasiness and at the same time thereby to gain relief, something that takes place simultaneously, in the same ritual act.

An expression of *gratitude* and wonder is offered by hymns of praise, the possibility of rising to one's feet, raising one's hands, bowing one's head when receiving the blessing. The altar is a manifestation and an objectivisation of a transcendent signal.

Naturally one might say that other cultural activities — an opera, a play or a film — arouse similar experiences and can therefore have similar functions. But the stylised language of the liturgy offers a formative framework within which semi-conscious feelings can be expressed and cultivated.

Liturgy as Interaction of Introversion/Extroversion, Individualism/Collectivism, Primary/Secondary Processes and Regression/Progression

The church service is legitimised along the axis God/the holy and man. This is the ideology that underlies the whole service. But the form in which this encounter between God and man takes expression might be described as a form of commuting.

1) Between extroversion and introversion. The participant in part concentrates on external factors, in other words what the priests or other actors say or do. Attention is directed outwards. During the process of self-examination before confession, on the other hand, attention is directed inwards. The same may be said of the prayers where the words of the prayers are spoken by the liturgist and the others present are expected to agree silently. Introversion is perhaps at its extreme in the case of bells ringing, prayers or at the moment when a person kneels down to receive the sacrament.

2) Between individualism and collectivism. The commuting is between those parts of the liturgy where the individual sees himself as an "I" with a personal responsibility and in an individual encounter with the Other Being and those parts where he sees himself as taking part in a "we" experience, such as "*We* believe in God the Father almighty". The collective is expressed, for example, when the members of the congregation together kneel down whereas the individual lies in the fact that each separate member of the congregation receives his own wafer of bread, his own sip of wine when the priest says "given up for you, shed for you".

3) Between primary and secondary processes. Between rationality and emotionality. The sermon has a more cognitive orientation whereas participation in hymn singing or when the member of the congregation returns to his pew after communion is not just this. The pew itself and its hard quality militates against all too deep a falling into an altered state of consciousness, something that a cinema seat or a concert hall more easily permits. To stand up, to sit, to kneel down are all acts that militate against monotony. The shape of the church pew from the experiential viewpoint is not unimportant.

4) Between regression and progression. The church service is a social channel through which we may gain access to primary processes but it is also a regression when it comes to the question of "I". It takes place partly in so-called "transitional space", partly in the ego area, partly on the preconscious or unconscious level. The liturgy with its symbols and forms can, in psychoanalytical terms, be seen as an activator of unconscious levels within the personality. Consequently on a projective level it is able to influence conflicts and desires.

Theoretical Foundations

The theoretical foundation that an empirical study of this kind can build on is — apart from general theory from the psychology of religion —

the sociology of knowledge and in particular its emphasis on the capacity of religious language as a function of fellowship,

Sundén's role theory, which stresses the religious texts and rites devoted to identification and role adoption and therefore can interpret the liturgy as a dual dialogue experience,

psychoanalytical symbol theory, which strives to clarify the relation between a given religious symbolism and its intrapsychic function or correspondence.

Not least can Winnicott's term the *transition area* (Winnicot 1971; Winnicot 1953) be linked to a more sociological theory of play and drama, the "fictional contract". To this we can add models from music, art and sociology.

Summary

The number of people who trust in and expect something from the religious world is declining. The Sunday church service is probably, however, one of the more important instruments of socialisation in the assimilation of religious traditions. The ritual action and the liturgical space can, from a functional perspective, be seen as a social and cultural semiotic system for the expression, interpretation and processing of existential questions. In earlier times the church service made it possible for a person to regularly interpret his life by means of a given symbolic framework. The academic study of the church service has hitherto been mainly either historical or theological. Analyses of the *liturgy as experience* have been lacking and constitute an undeveloped and empirically virgin field.

I have initially attempted tried to unite the liturgy with a number of psychological theories and models. This theoretical work, however, is only preliminary; my intention is to continue a more intimate cooperation with representatives of ritual studies, art historians and liturgy historians, musicologists, educationists and sociologists. This will take place within the framework of the research project "Liturgy and experience".

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RENÉ GOTHÓNI

Pilgrimage = Transformation Journey

During the two past decades, scholars in religious studies and social anthropology have frequently reconsidered Turner's theoretical model of pilgrimage (Turner 1973; Turner 1974; Turner and Turner 1978). Some have only vaguely expressed their discontent with it (Skar 1985; Aziz 1987; Pace 1989), others have more explicitly called attention to its inapplicability (Sallnow 1981; Morinis 1984; Bowman 1985). Although most scholars have come to the same conclusion as Morinis, who states that "no study of a place of pilgrimage tradition by a social scientist has confirmed what Turner has postulated as a universal process of pilgrimage" (Morinis 1984: 258), none of them have been able to point to any fundamental error in Turner's reasoning. For this reason, unfortunate as it may be and despite convincing field-tested proofs of its incorrectness, Turner's model is curiously enough still the one presented under the entry on pilgrimage in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* published as late as 1987. This is extraordinary — it is in fact a real blunder that calls for correction.

The aim of this paper is, therefore, to scrutinize Turner's propositions, to point out the errors in his reasoning and to argue and illustrate that pilgrimage should be conceived of and defined as a *transformation journey.*

The Errors in Turner's Reasoning

Victor Turner's (1920–1983) interest in pilgrimage was more theoretical than ethnographical. It was guided primarily by his pretentious eagerness for the comparative study of ritual symbols and social processes, "not only as they exist at a given time but also as they have changed over time, and of the relations into which different pilgrimage processes have entered in the course of massive stretches of time" (Turner 1974: 166). His model,

which he built up principally from the statements of officiants, is based on two propositions: (a) Pilgrimage is a process of moving from the familiar (or structural) to the anti-structural "other" and back, and (b) the period of being away from structure, the liminal period, is characterized by the existence of a communitas mood of relationship among participants (See Morinis 1984: 257).

Pilgrimage forms an ellipse, but is not a transition rite. The notion that every pilgrimage begins in a familiar place, proceeds to a far-off place, and ends at a familiar place led Turner to picture the route of a pilgrimage as an *ellipse*. He argues that pilgrims may return by the way they came, yet ellipse is still the apt metaphor for the total journey, because "the return road is, psychologically, different from the approach road" (Turner 1974: 195; Turner and Turner 1978: 22–23). This ellipse metaphor of pilgrimage is also acclaimed by Morinis (1984: 258), Skar (1985: 92) and Osterrieth (1989: 147–149). Morinis, for example, states that "every instance of pilgrimage must have a journey from home to sacred centre and return to home" (Morinis 1984: 258). Although this is of course an inevitable condition of any travel, it is not such a trivial observation after all, as will be pointed out later on.

Moreover, Turner argues that the peripheral nature of pilgrimage centres — Mecca being an exception — relates to van Gennep's theory of *rites de passage* (henceforth transition rites). He reasons that this distinguishes them from the centrality of state and provincial capitals, from other politico-economic units and from centres of ecclesiastical structure such as the sees and dioceses of archbishops and bishops (Turner 1974: 195–196).

When Turner shifted his attention from African tribal societies, and the study of mid-transition in transition rites in particular (Turner 1969), to the phenomenon of pilgrimage, he was naturally immediately struck by the *similarity in the sequence structure* between tribal transition rites and pilgrimages. The pilgrimages, he asserts, "have attributes both of the wider community, 'earth shrine', types of ritual we have glanced at in Africa and of the liminal stage of transition rites" (Turner 1974: 197). Thus — as Morinis perceptively remarked (Morinis 1984: 255, 259–260) — he imposed the model elaborated in the African tribal context, i.e. the concepts liminality and communitas, on his pilgrimage material, which contained data principally from Roman Catholic Mexico spiced with a few selective examples from Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. Bowman has quite rightly remarked that in Turner's writings on pilgrimage there is "an alarming absence of pilgrim statements and a preponderance of

secondary elaborations by social scientists and religious propagandists" (Bowman 1985: 5).

According to Turner, pilgrimages, then, have the following attributes of liminality in their transition rites: temporary release from the mundane structure that normally binds; release from the burdens of stress, anxiety and guilt; movement from the mundane centre to a sacred periphery; homogenization of status; simplicity of dress and behaviour; reflection on the meaning of basic religious and cultural values; the ritualized enactment of correspondence between religious paradigms and shared human experience; and experience of human brother- and sisterhood (Turner and Turner 1978: 3, 34).

In a recent study on van Gennep, Lévy Zumwalt eloquently brought into focus the way Turner's interpretation of the liminal stage differs from van Gennep's. Turner conceives the liminal phase to be outside the ordered universe, "a period betwixt and between the categories of ordinary social life" (Turner 1974: 273; Turner and Turner 1978: 2), while van Gennep, strictly speaking, intended the liminal rites to denote the transition from one social status to another. His focus was particularly on the patterned relationship *between* the stages and not on the lack of order *during* the liminal period (Lévy Zumwalt 1988: 25). The interpretation "during a liminal period" is Turner's and not van Gennep's.

van Gennep used the concept *passage* to denote a transition rite in which there is (a) a shift of social status, which (b) coincides with life cycle transitions: birth, social puberty (sexuality), initiation to various age groups, admission to monastic institutions or secret communities, marriage, fatherhood/motherhood, advancement to a higher class, occupational specialization and death — more or less predetermined transitions which are (c) publicly confirmed. Moreover, the transition rite is (d) a one-way passage, i.e. irreversible as there is no return, and because it is (e) inevitable, it is in that sense obligatory in every tribal society (See Lévy Zumwalt 1988: 24–26 and Bianchi 1986: XIII–XV).

It is of course true that there is a similarity in sequence structure between a transition rite and a pilgrimage. Turner was, however, deceived by this, because from a similarity in sequence structure, it does not automatically follow that a pilgrimage is a transition rite, which he erroneously seems to have concluded. The difference in function and motive is fundamental. Whereas the function of the transition rite is to facilitate the *transposition* of the "passenger", or "liminar", to his new social status and to *integrate* him without violent social disruptions into society (Gennep 1960: 48), the function of the pilgrimage, again, is to

facilitate *detachment* from mundane concerns and *reunification* between the pilgrim and God — Buddhism being an exception (see further on).

The attributes of a pilgrimage are in fact the opposite to those of a transition rite. In a pilgrimage, there is no publicly confirmed shift of social status that coincides with predetermined life cycle transitions. Nor is there an irreversible one-way passage — there is a return! Furthermore, a pilgrimage is not inevitable or obligatory. It is the spontaneous and voluntary choice of an individual pilgrim to travel, often *incognito,* to a *terra incognito* (Osterrieth 1989: 150).

The aspect of travelling anonymously is one of the essential meanings of 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage', because originally the word 'pilgrim' — a Middle English word that comes from the Old French *pèlerin,* derived from Late Latin *peregrinus,* meaning 'foreigner', from *peregre* 'abroad', from *perger* 'being abroad', from *per* 'through' and *agr-, ager* 'land', 'field' — meant a foreigner who lived in an alien land, outside the territory of Rome (*ager Romanus*), and who travelled around (*incognito*). It denoted someone who passes through life as if in exile from a heavenly homeland, or in search of some higher goal, such as truth. Thereafter it came to mean one who travels to a shrine or holy place as a devotee, one who realizes the ideal of every devout pilgrim, and especially a person who travelled to the Holy Land. Later the meaning was extended to include those who travelled to Rome, for example; later still it came to apply to anyone who travelled to a shrine or a sacred place, a centre of religious worship. A pilgrimage, then, simply means the 'journey of a pilgrim', especially a journey to a shrine or a sacred place. Its wider meaning is the course of life on earth (See Webster's 1976: 1715 and Schmugge 1979: 22).

Communitas is not the specific quality of a pilgrimage. The nature of the social bond in pilgrimage situations is characterized by Turner as *communitas.* It is a Latin word for social relationship, fellowship and social bond which he defines as a spontaneously generated relationship between levelled and equal total and individual human beings, stripped of structural attributes. Communitas constitutes a sort of anti-structure. It is the *fons et origo* of all social structures and, at the same time, their critique. It represents striving towards universalism and openness (Turner 1974: 202).

As an analytic concept, communitas denotes one part of two major social modalities in the concept of community, the other being structure — the English translation of the German term *Gemeinschaft* as coined by Ferdinand Tönnies. *Gemeinschaft* (community) includes 'social structure' in the sense of *bonds* between members of tightly knit, multifunctional

groups, usually with a local basis. It may, however, refer to a direct personal egalitarian relationship, *Gemeinschaft,* in which case there is a connotation of communitas. One example is in Tönnies, who considers *friendship* as expressing a kind of *Gemeinschaft* or 'feeling of affinity'[1] that is tied to neither blood nor locality (Turner 1974: 201).

Turner distinguishes three types of communitas or modalities of social relatedness: *existential* or *spontaneous,* where the participants experience mankind as a homogeneous, unstructured, and free community; *normative,* the original spontaneous communitas organized into a perduring social system; and *ideological,* the utopian variety of communitas (Turner 1974: 169).

The communitas character of pilgrimage makes it democratic. The secular distinction of rank and status disappear or are homogenized. In this sense, pilgrimage presents a living model of human brother- and sisterhood. Pilgrims travel in fellowship; there is a strong tendency among them to develop an intense comradeship and occasionally even life-long friendships. The pilgrims become like brothers and there is fellowship with the like-minded. Thus communitas is a concept used to denote cohesion in a group of pilgrims, which is based on the immediate and total feeling of affinity, solidarity and togetherness.

The hypothesis that these communitas moods are characteristic features in (all) pilgrimages, however, has been incontrovertibly disproved by scholars who have field-tested the proposition. Morinis, who reviewed all the relevant empirical findings on the subject in his chapter on the theoretical perspectives of pilgrimages, explicitly points out that "the quality of communitas that Turner considers an essential feature of pilgrimage is not *universal*" (Morinis 1984: 259). Sallnow, who studied sponsored group pilgrimages among Peruvian highland peasants, arrives at the same conclusion: "On the journey the various parties of pilgrims from different communities *maintained* a ritualised distance from one another which accentuated, rather than attenuated, the boundaries between them. At the shrine itself they each *maintained their separateness,* and never coalesced into a single unified congregation ... the concept of *communitas is of little value* in explaining the essentially divisive quality of Andean pilgrimage ... It would be more appropriate in such circumstances to see community, not communitas, as the hallmark of pilgrimage" (Sallnow 1981: 176–177).

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[1] Turner translates *Gemeinshaft* as 'community of feeling', which to me is, if not totally wrong at least, quite inadequate. *Gemeinschaft* simply means 'feeling of affinity or togetherness' and even 'feeling of solidarity'.

Skar for his part conducted field research among pilgrims going to a non-Christian shrine, a local mountain top called the Copisa ritual centre, located roughly in the same geographical region as Sallnow. At the pilgrimage centre, which might be expected to reflect the culmination of the mood of communitas experienced during the journey, he discovered a *distinctive confrontation* between social groups from both the high and the low areas in the Andes. The tension between the groups is frequently symbolized by two different and opposed dancing groups, which occasionally engage in whipping contests, lashing out at each other's legs until someone is forced to retire. Sometimes the dancers become embroiled in violent fights.

Thus the Andean pilgrimage does not follow the classical three-phase sequence in the Turnerian model: structure-communitas (or anti-structure)-structure. Instead there is a fourth element, one of hostility and competition at the pilgrimage centre. Skar considers that this element occurs because Andean everyday structural reality is highly flexible and variable. Therefore, he argues, the pilgrimage ritual incorporates an element of the ritual expression of structure versus anti-structure, a definition of structure, i.e. the mood of equality, communality and communitas experienced during the journey is counterbalanced by a redefinition of the social structure at the pilgrimage centre before the return journey begins (Skar 1985: 97–99).

To conceive of the pilgrimage process as a shift from structural to anti-structural and back is both reductionistic and irrelevant. It is reductionistic, in that it reduces pilgrimage to the phenomenon of festal solidarity and communitas, although the meaning of pilgrimage lies beyond the movements of the pilgrims (Bowman 1985: 4). It is true that pilgrims occasionally experience a feeling of affinity among themselves, but they nevertheless maintain a distinctive social structure as Sallnow, Morinis and others have pointed out. To use the Latin word communitas for that temporary feeling of affinity does not make the observation more scholarly and is in fact beside the point, because the feeling of solidarity is not inherent in pilgrimage, but it is a by-product. The nature of the social bond between the participants, i.e. the feeling of brother- and sisterhood, originates in shared religious values, which provide the pilgrim's cosmological frame of reference and in many cases is the reason behind the pilgrimage in the first place.[2]

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[2] In many cases, the pilgrimage experience in fact heightens the pilgrim's sense of individuality, see Aziz 1987: 260.

Pilgrimage = Transformation Journey

The specific quality of a pilgrimage. In his study on pilgrimage in the Hindu tradition, Morinis came to the conclusion that "the variety of analyses (theories) reflects the variety of forms pilgrimages take" (Morinis 1984: 263). He complains, however, that "while the journey to the sacred place occurs in all pilgrimages by definition, no qualitative factor is similarly recurrent" (Morinis 1984: 260). And he summarizes: "Pilgrimage practice in West Bengal takes many forms, so many, in fact, that it is difficult to identify any universal behaviour or ideas common to all cases of Bengalis journeying to sacred places" (Morinis 1984: 276). Morinis was asking the Socratic question, i.e. he was in search of the *quality* which distinguishes pilgrimages and which is characteristic of them.[3] He was unlucky. Although he had the answer at hand, he did not find "the single unit in hidden likenesses" in his Indian material (See Bronowski 1956: 23).

It has been clearly stated that the one thing in common in *rites de passage* is the transition from one social status to another, i.e. *transition* over a social threshold. It has been equally clearly stated that this is not the case with pilgrimages. What, then, should we call the quality which distinguishes pilgrimages and which is characteristic of them?

Before an answer to this question is addressed, it might be useful to examine how scholars have conceived pilgrimages on the basis of their own empirical findings. Turner, for example, states that "the pilgrim is confronted by sequences of sacred objects and participates in symbolic activities which he believes are efficacious in changing his inner and, sometimes, outer condition from sin to grace, or sickness to health. He hopes for miracles and *transformation,* either of soul or body" (Turner 1974: 197; Turner and Turner 1978: 6).

Morinis concludes, contrary to what he has said earlier, that "a common idea that journeying to the sacred place where the divine is accessible can (and indeed does) bring about a *transformation* in the life of the individual *underlies all this variety*" (Morinis 1984: 282).

Skar uses his own field experience and what van Maanen (1988) termed a confessional tale to testify that "we had gone from a sedentary situation into a nomadic one, and inwardly we were beginning to feel a *transformation* of spirits and personality" (Skar 1985: 92).

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[3] For the Socratic question, see Plato's discourse on Meno (Plato 1977).

Finally, to quote one pilgrim, this is how a Greek student of medicine described his pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain of Athos in northern Greece: "Walking was incredible, first of all tiring, physically very tiring. We walked from Megisti Lavra to Karakallou for about twelve hours. The eye could see a long way the sky, virgin nature, the mountain, the valleys. The spirit soars in these parts. You get a splendid feeling. We had many rests. Drank only water. We climbed about 1,000 meters. Athos was right over our heads and then from 1,000 meters down to the sea and then from the sea up about 200 meters to Karakallou. I felt there, at 1,000 meters on Athos, between the trees — it is impossible for me to translate my thoughts into words, it was the kind of experience you can live, not explain — I found myself there, I returned to my roots as a human being. My mind became peaceful. *I found myself as a human being*" (Gothóni 1991: 300–302).

It is clear from the above quotations (the italics are mine), that the one thing in common is the word *transformation,* which comes from the Latin word *transformare* and denotes change of character or condition. This is indeed what takes place in a pilgrimage. Osterrieth, for example, states that "at the pilgrimage site, the pilgrim completes the process of *spiritual transformation.* This last leg of the quest is characterized both by performance and glorification. The quest ends with the establishment of the new identity — *spiritual rebirth* ... Indeed, a great pilgrimage is a struggle against space, a sheer effort to overcome distance, and it is this struggle which has *transformed* the man" (Osterrieth 1989: 154).

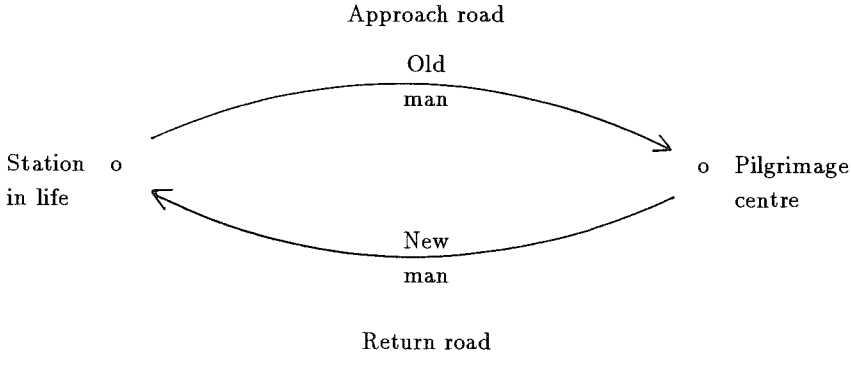
If pilgrimage is considered not as a social process, as Turner saw it, but as an individual pilgrim's journey to a shrine or a sacred place, listening to what the pilgrim says and what he experiences makes it obvious that, during the pilgrimage, the pilgrim experiences *transformation from one level of spirituality to another.* It is thus logical to conclude that this transformation is the specific quality by which pilgrimages do not differ, but are all alike, just as transition was the specific quality of *rites de passage.*

Pilgrimages as transformation journeys. Of all metaphors for life, the most evocative is that of the departure, the journey and the return: the departure, so full of the sadness of separation and excitement about the adventures to come; the journey, a series of hazards and transitions, of setbacks and triumphs; the return, marked by final transformation, fulfilment and completion. The longing for this adventure seems to underlie all journeys, both inner and outer, all ventures into scholarship and literature,

music and art, all self-imposed trials and ordeals (See Stevens 1990: 64–65 and Pace 1989: 231–233).

It is therefore not surprising that Turner was struck by the similarity in the sequence structure between transition rites and pilgrimages. His notion that all pilgrimages form an ellipse — the return road is, psychologically, different from the approach road — is, however, a very significant observation, because the ellipse metaphor of pilgrimage contains binary oppositions such as departure:return, deficiency:deficiency made good, old man:new man, death:rebirth, impure:pure, illness:cure, lost:found (ref. the statement by the Greek student of medicine: "I found myself as a human being"). These lines of thought can be illustrated as follows.

Figure 1. Pilgrimage presented as an ellipse



Every pilgrimage begins in a familiar place, i.e. at the pilgrim's station in life. Although the motives for going on a pilgrimage vary as do the moments of departure regarding the pilgrim's stage of adult life, the underlying sentiment for departure seems nevertheless always to be that of perceived deficiency. Osterrieth distinguished three deficiencies in medieval Christian pilgrimages, namely, the sinner who seeks salvation, the sick who seeks for a bodily cure and the lonely who seeks revelation (Osterrieth 1989: 146). In other cultural contexts, it may be possible to distinguish other types of deficiency, such as the cured who goes on a pilgrimage to fulfil a vow, but that is not relevant here. The point is that the motivation for departure in all cases seems to be some kind of deficiency and that the aim of the pilgrimage is to make good or eliminate that deficiency, a "discovery" confirming the binary character of a pilgrimage.

At the pilgrimage centre, there is usually some sort of ritual bathing. In Islam, for example, every pilgrim performs ablutions before performing the rites of *hajj* at Ka'bah in Mecca. Ritual bathing is a very important element in Indian religious behaviour too, as Morinis clearly illustrated.

The following example from everyday life will serve to explain the significance of ritual bathing. A Finn never feels cleaner or more pure than after having taken a Finnish sauna. The man who comes out of the sauna is a new man. The dirtier he was, the cleaner he now is. The contrast counts and marks the difference. The more distinct the contrast is, the more miraculous the feeling afterwards.

This seems to explain why some pilgrims experience an ecstatic transformation at the pilgrimage centre, whereas others experience only a moderate transformation. Those who consider themselves to be heavy sinners feel much greater relief than those who consider themselves to be merely ordinary sinners. The greater the contrast, the more miraculous the feeling. Although there is this difference in intensity in the experience of the transformation from defilement to purity, from the old man to the new man, the transformative feeling is nevertheless the specific quality of the experience at the pilgrimage centre. The feeling of cleanness and purity is not only a mental and spiritual feeling, but very much a physical feeling as well, just like after a sauna. Thus ritual bathing may rightly be apprehended in symbolic terms as a process of death and rebirth. On occasions when illness has been cured at the pilgrimage centre, the pilgrim really feels very certain that a miracle has happened and miracles are indeed expected to happen in pilgrimage centres (Turner and Turner 1978: 6). The agony of toothache is familiar to everyone, as is the miraculous feeling when it stops. The feeling is paradisiac. This shift from the level of suffering to that of bliss seems to be the decisive sign of transformation. Therefore, the man who begins his return journey is a new man. He is symbolically reborn. His rebirth is occasionally "physical" as well, when, for example, he is cured of an illness. The return marks the final transformation, fulfilment and completion of the pilgrimage.

Pilgrimages are universal in form, but unique as to content of beliefs. From fieldwork among pilgrims in various cultures it is known that pilgrimages vary regarding content of beliefs from one religion to another. A Hindu pilgrimage is different from a Buddhist one, which again is different from a Jewish, Christian or Muslim one, and so forth. The pilgrim's (vague) feeling of deficiency is universal, but beliefs about how it can be compensated or eliminated vary. The religions of the Far East, Hinduism

and Buddhism, presuppose a cyclic worldview, i.e. a belief in rounds of rebirth (*saṃsāra*) and in release from these rounds. The religions of the Middle East, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, again presuppose a linear worldview, i.e. a belief in beginning and end, and in the possibility of transcending that end, i.e. in salvation. A god is supposed to have created both the world and man, and the same god judges whether or not a man comes to Heaven.[4] This fundamental difference in worldview is of course reflected in the way pilgrims conceive their pilgrimage.

For Hindus, a pilgrimage is meritorious by nature. "Visiting sacred places ..., bathing in holy waters, circumambulating the shrine and the like are generally held to be automatically responsible for an increase in the individual's merit store ... The merit thus accumulated can be applied to bring about changes in the existential conditions of the life of the pilgrim in the immediate or distant future, and so in this life or the next" (Morinis 1984: 282). Although different sub-groups of Hinduism express this process somewhat differently, all nevertheless share the notion that "the individual, in the course of many incarnations, is involved in a long spiritual journey in search of the godhead. This journey is the cycle of *saṃsāra,* the wandering of the soul until it comes spiritually awake in one life ...

From this perspective, the terrestrial pilgrimage takes its meaning and its effect by bringing the individual *jiva* closer to the deity, effecting a spiritual *transformation* in the pilgrim" (Morinis 1984: 295–296). The ultimate goal for a Hindu is to bring the individual soul to oneness with the deity, God.

For a Buddhist, visiting sacred places is meritorious as well, because Gautama Buddha is supposed to be "spiritually present" in the religious relics and symbols at the pilgrimage centres (Gothóni 1980: 47–48). Moreover, the monks looking after the pilgrimage site provide a "field of merit" for the laity. By performing meritorious acts, such as paying homage at sacred sites, giving (alms), meditating and keeping the precepts, the Buddhist pilgrim accumulates merit for his future rebirths and finally for *nirvāṇa,* the ultimate goal of a Buddhist, which is release from the rounds of rebirth (Gothóni 1982: 52–53, 195–197).

For a Jew, a pilgrimage is an offering of sacrifices. By travelling to holy sites, tombs and shrines of Talmudic and qabbalistic sages, where the Jewish pilgrims pray, make offerings, and sometimes request divine

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[4] The meanings of the concepts "heaven" and "hell" are of course different in Judaism, Christianity and Islam, but in this connection there is no need to go into detail.

help on notes left at the site, they hope for good luck and remedies for particular misfortunes. The saint is expected to ask God for mercy on behalf of the pilgrim. The ultimate goal in the life of a Jew is to come to Heaven.

For a Christian, a pilgrimage is a form of ascetic practice. It is a penitential act. The fallen man repents his sins and asks for God's forgiveness and mercy. By going on a pilgrimage, the pilgrim narrows the gap between the life of Jesus and modern life. Through God's grace the pilgrim, the fallen man can come to Heaven, which is the ultimate goal in a Christian's life.

For a Muslim, a pilgrimage (*hajj*) is a ritual act of worship. To perform *hajj* is the fifth of the Five Pillars of Islam. It is the duty of every Muslim to make a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their adult life. By going on a pilgrimage, the Muslim submits to God's will, which is the very essence in Islam. The ultimate goal of a Muslim is to come to Heaven.[5]

These lines of thought can be charted as follows.

	Immediate aim				Ultimate goal
Religion	This Life				After Life
Hinduism	meritorious acts	→	accumulate merit	→	Oneness with God
Buddhism	meritorious acts	→	accumulate merit	→	*Nirvāṇa* = no rebirth
Judaism	offering sacrifices	→	ask for God's mercy	→	Heaven
Christianity	penitential acts	→	ask for God's grace	→	Heaven
Islam	ritual act of worship	→	submitting to God's will	→	Heaven

A pilgrimage is the outer manifestation of an inner journey, often referred to as an allegory of the soul's journey to God. Thus it is cosmologically meaningful. The height of the journey is the arrival at the pilgrimage centre and the encounter with the divine. There the pilgrim perceives the gap between what he should be (according to the religious tradition) and

[5] For the Jewish, Christian and Muslim pilgrimages, see Shokeid 1987; Sigal 1987; Nolan 1987; Aivazian 1987; Martin 1987.

what he really is, i.e. he suddenly realizes the discrepancy between the precept and the practice. This experience is the very essence of a pilgrimage, because what has been experienced cannot become unexperienced, what has been seen cannot become unseen, what has been realized cannot become unrealized. The old man is dead, a new man is born. The world is seen through newly opened eyes. The pilgrim feels a persistent longing for the "original" religiosity. The mundane values of the previous life-style are abandoned and replaced by values that enhance spiritual development. The pilgrimage is complete.

Conclusions

The findings put forward in this paper give rise to the following propositions:

a) the *quality* of a pilgrimage is the pilgrim's experience of *spiritual transformation,* i.e. a shift from worldliness towards spirituality,
b) a pilgrimage should be conceived of and defined as a *transformation journey,*
c) although a pilgrim is usually in company, sometimes with thousands of other pilgrims, he nevertheless considers his own endeavour as a private undertaking; the choice to go on a pilgrimage is individual, spontaneous and voluntary; he often travels *incognito,*
d) a pilgrimage route forms an *ellipse* with the sequence structure: departure-journey-return,
e) the ellipse metaphor of pilgrimage epitomizes the *binary character* of the pilgrimage route, i.e. departure:return, deficiency: deficiency made good, old man:new man and so forth,
f) the journey — the transformative phase between departure and return — provides a period of reflection, during which the pilgrim mirrors and reviews his life, perceives the discrepancy between precept and practice and begins to long to bridge the gap, and
g) regardless of whether the pilgrim experiences an ecstatic or a moderate spiritual transformation when encountering the divine, the result nevertheless usually leeds to some change of attitude and life-style.

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NORA AHLBERG

Forced Migration and Muslim Rituals:
An Area of Cultural Psychology?

I

The psychological foundation of rites de passage have long been debated within the history of religion and related areas (See e.g. Honko 1979; Nenola-Kallio 1982). The significance of such rites in facilitating emotional readjustment to a new life situation have been particularly stressed. But the available material has only indirectly been able to verify such presuppositions, consisting as it has of observations of the rituals or tradition lore.

Moreover, the interpretation of emotion raises particular problems for cultural research due to its preoccupation primarily with collective analyses. Emotional reactions on the individual level largely remain outside the competence of anthropologists, despite their awareness of the general influence of culture on this as on other areas of human endeavour. Researchers like Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner have suggested that ritual symbols affect the way individuals experience their world. But they have not looked in detail at the individual to substantiate their suggestions[1].

I am presently engaged in a project on traumatized female refugees from Iran at the interdisciplinary Psychosocial Centre for Refugees, University of Oslo. Based on therapeutic sessions over many years, it will render possible an analysis of highly personal experiences attached to such upheavals as torture, flight and exile, from the perspective of cultural psychology. In this connection, however, I will restrict myself to the question of whether the changing living conditions which have provoked traumatic experiences in the lives of these refugees have been in any way related to Muslim ritual requirements or rites de passage.

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[1] Juha Pentikäinen's (1978) work on a female Karelian refugee represent a Nordic exception, which is based on extended personal contact with the informant.

Ritually related situations may already have failed from the perspective of the clients prior to migration. The period preceding the flight seems especially vulnerable, marked as it is by the exceptional conditions of war and revolution. For example, the political annexation of martyrdom as the paramount ethos for the postrevolutionary Iranian society poses certain emotional complications for opponents of the present regime. As the mourning rituals of the Shi'ite Muslims have become mandatory symbols of political commitment to the state, their ability to comfort the repressed and exiled has simultaneously decreased.

Good and Good (1988) deal with revolutionary alterations in Iranian society by making a distinction between rituals of transformation, which focus on permanently transforming the status of the participants, and rituals of transcendence, where such changes remain restricted to the duration of the ritual, as a starting point. According to the authors the originally transcendent Muharram ritual received, at the time of the revolution, a transformative character replacing the old order of things by a new law and justice.

The revolution grew out of the Kerbela paradigm anchoring the protest in mourning and martyrdom[2]. The Ta'zieh Passion plays include dramatized scenes of separation, such as when the young son of Hussein takes leave of his father, implores his mother to let him proceed to death by martyrdom, or tearfully caresses his little sister in farewell. Paralyzed with sorrow, his mother wraps him in a shroud and clings to him. He tears himself away in order later to be returned by the imam dead into the arms of his mother.

Similar emotionally compelling events supersede one another as many more relatives of the prophet are martyred. But the ritual reenactment of the tragic happenings also evoke anger at injustice, and an accompanying dedication to the establishment of a righteous society, among participants. In the present situation emotions like this have become charged with powerful contemporary political symbolism. It is said that where villagers used to go to the cemetery in order to cry, nowadays they go there for celebration, while life affirming rituals are repressed.

The Iranian leadership has strongly criticized the Persian New Year No Ruz celebration, and intensified public funeral marches for troops killed at the front prior to it, in order to produce a more proper atmosphere of mourning. Such an approach is in conformity with the prohibitions of exaggerated celebration of Islamically questionable occasions and rites de

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[2] This is a point also raised by Jan Hjärpe (1989).

passage, by other Islamist regimes, such as the Pakistani (Ahlberg 1990).

Episodes narrated by the refugees suggest that both public and private emotional discourse have become subjugated to the scrutinity and control of official policies to an extent previously unparalleled. They often refer to the "bearded brothers" or "Islamic sisters" appearing as guardians of Muslim morality in public places. According to their accounts these revolutionary zealots are, for example, entitled to "remove make-up with a handkerchief filled with broken razor blades or use scissors against visible hair", and arrest people while measuring out "Islamic" punishments as described below.

But the frequently tragic fates of third world refugees reaching the borders of our welfare societies disclose that intercultural migration does not automatically solve, but may on the contrary further reinforce an initially distorted development. Three approaches to the interrelatedness of ritual observations and traumatic changes in the lives of refugees are thus called for:

- under normal circumstances at home,
- under exceptional circumstances at home,
- as migrants in our societies.

II

Lavik (1977) defines life-cycle rituals from a psychiatric viewpoint as collectively institutionalized solutions of problems of separation and belonging. Since the functions of rites are dependent on personal emic meaning, an outsider perspective such as that of participant observation is not enough in their analysis. Anthony Jackson (1979) thus forwards a multitude of analytic perspectives for the study of ritual, of which I will here consider those of the very structure of the rite itself — if it is correctly performed; and its social relational context — any possible negative social outcome of the rite; as well as preceding norm breaches.

Moreover, I will consistently base my treatment on categories on an individual as well as a collective level.

Level of analysis	Norm breach (exist?)	Ritual performance (correct?)	Consequences (exist?)
Individual	+ −	+ −	+ −
Collective	+ −	+ −	+ −

I will start with an example from the "normal" childhood of a female refugee-to-be in lower middle class Teheran, which illuminates a rite de passage celebration which has left psychological scars, despite the fact that it might have worked normatively as intended on the collective level. In this case an innocent person was socially stigmatized, and banished to a questionable lower status, as part and parcel of the ritual.

One day after several years of treatment the patient in question arrived for an appointment complaining of diffuse pains in her left side[3]. The first time she felt a similar kind of pain she remembered very well. She had no foreboding of what was happening to her when, one day, she returned home with bloodstained trousers. Her older sister, who according to tradition carried the responsibility for her upbringing, became furious. Confused by accusations of having lost her virginity and being battered, she was taken for a gynecological examination, where the onset of menstruation was ascertained.

The big catastrophe followed during her wedding in the presence of a considerable number of far-away-guests. As the celebration was reaching its climax at dinner time, the bride and bridegroom were about to consummate the matrimony in the sleeping room of her parents-in-law. Attached with safety pins to the linen were four pieces of cloth, which were to be distributed among the two families as evidence of the consummation of the marriage, as well as of the virginity of the bride.

The client was unaware of her husband-to-be as well as her coming fate. "Everybody hastens to eat in order to be the first one to peep through all available keyholes and windows. There one does it for the first time in one's life in front of everybody". On earlier occasions she herself had taken part in this race for the fun of being the first one out for the bloodstained trophies. This is because, by triumphantly viewing "the evidence", one receives a reward of money. "At times they enter even before the bride and bridegroom have had a chance to get their trousers on."

But this time it did not happen since her husband-to-be yelled in order to save his own honour in advance[4]. "You are no virgin! I have been deceived to believe myself to have got a proper wife, and what have I received but a widow." To her desperation there was no trace of blood to be seen. Recently having reached the age of sixteen, she remained scared stiff while furious people poured into the room in order to defame her. She has not been able to repeat what they said or did at that point.

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[3] Concerning the prevalent "psychosomatization" among Iranians as perceived by Western medical personnel see Ahlberg 1989.

[4] Like the loss of virginity male impotence is considered a very serious handicap.

"But my mother and father had to walk with their heads bowed down, the celebration was brought to an end and everybody went home. Often violence, hospitalization and visits by the police follow from these kinds of things."

Thus it happened that she was to remain an innocent person, regarded by others as of lower status, in a lonely, nightmarish and childless marriage.

But it was even worse for my mother. When she was nine years old she was married to someone twelve years older. When he returned home from work, she was simply playing with her dolls while the demands of housework were beyond the scope of her comprehension. Because of this she was severely punished. When only ten years old she gave birth to my elder sister.

Example of a wedding ritual in Teheran under "normal" conditions

Level of analysis	Norm breach (exist?)	Ritual performance (correct?)	Consequences (exist?)
Individual	−	−	+
Collective	+	+	+

Ritual marking of the transitions of life naturally give no assurance of psychological wellbeing. They limit individual freedom of choice, assuming emotional subordination in relation to collective demands. Nothwithstanding personally experienced sorrow, participants in Shi'ite Muslim celebrations are, for example, expected to cry aloud, just as traditional wedding rituals gently but firmly give the marriageable girl a new status relatively irrespectively of her own wishes.

Traditionally fixed rituals may thus have get the opposite effect of the generally assumed instrumentally moderating, if emotional aspects turn against the parties involved. Many a young person who has been circumcised has, like the young mother of the above example, in reality only a slight insight into why or what is actually going on, ending up as a passive and emotionally perplexed onlooker at their own celebration. In other words we cannot assume that ritual expression is automatically in harmony with inner feelings.

On the contrary, one has to allow for the fact that ritual participants, especially those who are obliged to attend, independent of their personal feelings, will adapt their behavior to the situational expectations. In traditional societies social birth, puberty or even death may, moreover, overshadow the biological development with discontinual or forced leaps

as a result. Or various expelling mechanisms on the collective level may pose psychosocial problems for the individual.

III

A movement in cultural time or social space always involves danger of imbalance *within* the individual and *between* individuals and the society. Migration, like the ordinary transitions of life, involves psychosocial wandering that activates feelings preserved in age-old mythical motives: of longing and pain from what is lost, but also new possibilities and triumph over the old inhibiting world. In the case of forced migration multiple and sudden loss of social, material and cultural circumstances, without traditional ritual or network support, may, however, foster a chronically painful marginality.

The disengagement from the old order of things often begins ahead of the migration itself, during quite exceptional circumstances in the country of origin, or a lengthy stay in the primitive and ruthless conditions of many a refugee camp. Psychiatric material from war-torn Iran shows many links between psychological stress and forcibly altered ritual circumstances[5]. Ritual pollution from corpses during combat, or the general absence of washing fascilities, may, for example, result in obsessive acts. In at least one known case sexual intercourse in a ritually polluted state brought contagional effects on the conceived child, who was expelled as unclean and exposed to severe maltreatment.

These are ritual situations, which from the point of the individual actors themselves have been interpreted to their disfavour as carrying negative sanctions, even though overt social condemnation has failed to appear. In the examples quoted here the therapist was cooperating with both the family network of the patients, as well as with the religious scholars carrying out the ritual purification of the afflicted. According to the latter the situations were, however, interpreted as Islamically legitimate exceptions to ritual demands.

From this follows a somewhat different pattern depicting the imbalance between individual and collective interpretations in my diagram.

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[5] I thank psychologist Hassan Namwar, who worked at the Iranian front with war injuried soldiers and their relatives prior to his own flight, for initially focusing my attention on such cases.

Wartime ritual requirement as an example of an "exceptional culture"

Level of analysis	Norm breach (exist?)	Ritual performance (correct?)	Consequences (exist?)
Individual	+	−	+
Collective	−	+	−

A third world refugee is, moreover, in many ways already exposed by definition, since he or she has left a society based on moral obligations which emphasize loyalty to God and the existing tradition. An obligation based moral code, such as the Islamic, carries a general assumption of naturally vulnerable agents subdued to their weakness of will, ignorance and interdependency. Thus the freedom of the individual to realize himself in a modern Western sense is not regarded as a common good.

It is, for example, a common custom to give away "the weaker gender" by arranged marriages, and even parallel dissolution of marriages is in evidence. As a result of transgressions in one, but independently of the wishes of the spouses in the parallel case: "If Ali uses violence against our Aysha, we will in addition to her also take our daughter Amina back from his brother Mohammad".

Every society offers time-honoured status corresponding to performance obligations to individuals of various talents. Both are necessary for social action. But what is considered more fundamental, natural or valuable, differs: the roles to be performed or the individual people who play the parts. The obligation-based moral of tradition-bound societies, in contrast to the modern rights-oriented, gives priority to social arrangements according to which the moral value of a person can be measured.

It judges as fair any actions that ensure a properly fixed role performance between members of the group, while psychological qualities or personal skills are of lesser importance. The traditional interpretation of social roles as a natural necessity, and permanent in relation to those individuals who at any point in time happen to fill them, may accentuate the problems of potential or exiled refugees. As evidenced by the Rushdie case, there does not exist any indispensable freedom to plead deviation or exceed gender roles. The private domain becomes subordinate to the role expectations lest one is considered morally corrupt.

Female clients of mine thus report how their husbands have been expelled as kafirs by "Islamic" reasoning, according to which they have defected from their religion by fleeing the Islamized Iranian society. According to this logic of the local pasdaran, taking flight has moreover entailed that the wives and children of these men have been left unprotected. As a

consequence of this the latter have been raped in direct proportion to the number of male relatives who have fled their responsibilities as defenders of their honour.

Since it is the concern of men to protect women in order that the honour of the family will not suffer, sexual torture of females and children has been underreported. Episodes of this kind will, independently of any individual guilt, risk bringing the whole family into disrepute[6].

There are two pillars in the life of a man. His namus (honour) is dependent on his wife and the soil, for which the shahid gives his life. In the Iraki war one had to fight for one's country because if it fell into the hands of the enemy, they would rape and plunder both the soil and the females.
Even in prison, one had to get used to it in spite of being innocent. Many are those who have committed suicide following rape in prison. I have seen them kill pregnant females, and you will not find any argument for it in the Koran. It was since the filth started getting out. It is easy to lose one's belief from less. All the deceased get a stone on their grave but these get an 'unknown' grave. A mother whose child is killed does not even have a stone to visit, knows no place to go for crying. Their destiny is to be flung in a big godforsaken hole.

One central theme which follows from the refugee specific situation concerns the meaning of various types of boundary crossing, as seen against culturally defined ideals. In other words, given what a good life in an anticipated social context consists of: What kind of meaning will the innumerable transgressions and ruptures refugees encounter carry? How are elementary ethical breaches such as various forms of torture interpreted? What about members who deviate physically or psychologically, such as westernized females or children, "crazy" relatives and violated people generally?

IV

On arrival many clients seem to be full of unrealistic anticipation of their life in the West (Ahlberg 1989: 207). Such factors can be quite decisive, as evidenced by the case of another client in danger of losing her children. For years she bore harsh maltreatment by her husband in the hope of an unavoidable flight to the West "where men do not hit. And where females, as opposed to the practice of Islam, get custody of the children

[6] For an analysis of the sexual maltreatment of Vietnamese refugee females see Mollica 1989.

in case of divorce". She never reckoned with the eventuality of ending up with a resolution by the child welfare authorities, according to which her children were removed to an unknown resort for further investigations[7].

The situation of the client in the above mentioned Teherani wedding case (under "normal" circumstances at home), was later made worse by imprisonment and torture, as part and parcel of revolutionary Iranian gender politics (under "exceptional" circumstances at home). She had chosen to oppose encroachments by her spouse as well as the pasdaran patrolling the neighbourhood. Against all anticipation she managed to obtain education, got divorced after many years of struggle, and remarried despite massive opposition with her chosen-of-heart.

She even refused to accept any morning gift while offended representatives of the authorities failed to obtain their share. For this reason she was left with "a plastic document instead of a silky one", which later turned out to create unexpected problems (as a migrant in our society). But this was after she had managed to flee, through a third country and many hardships, to the free West. While here she met with new and quite unexpected resistance towards, once again, accepting either her love marriage or acquired education.

Suddenly she stood in danger of losing her status as a political refugee, and consequently her husband's right of repatriation, due to having produced contradictory statements in police interrogations. According to them she alleged to be married, while at the same time comparing her marital status to couples living together "without formalities" in the West. This was, however, quite correct since she had contracted a temporary mut'a marriage, the existence in present-day Iran of which the Norwegian authorities at the time were quite unaware.

There are naturally many things that can go wrong in the receiving countries. When, for example, the refugee's expectations concerning the way of managing fundamental transitions of life do not correspond to actual practice, this might result in increased fear of those unknown circumstances where anything could happen. "I wonder whether they are cruel people unaquainted with law and justice in this country, since they allow many dead bodies in the same grave, thereby risking to desecrate a pure soul with a sinful one? Do they really turn up the graves after some time and sacrilege their dead?".

Not the least worry in connection with the ritual performance of a burial on foreign soil is that many things might go wrong so that the dead will

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[7] A similar case has been analysed in Lien 1986.

end up as outlawed ghosts, leaving their kinsmen in restless grievance. Another client, who like most refugees has experienced a great many losses of near and dear kin, moreover lost a child in Norway. The parents had to rush to the hospital with a child who shortly afterwards died.

According to her, they were asked to control their sorrow as expected in this country "where people mourn with dignity". A paradoxical reaction in a hospital corridor during such a tragic moment marked by strong traditional expressions of sorrow? This family carried certain expectations concerning handling a case of death, which were not in accordance with actual practice within the Norwegian health care system.

The result was a mother stuck in the feeling of her child simply having disappeared, and shame for not having been able to fullfil her last obligations towards a deceased son. "Our child was simply taken away from us and we were instructed to meet at the funeral". Behind such statements lies an uncertainty gnawing the heart, as to whether correct funeral practice was followed. To be sure, she was deprived of her traditional right to take care of him herself; wash, dress and perfume her son properly for the grave.

What is more; "Now he is not going to get peace, but will forever lie restless in his own blood". The fatal thing had happened that an autopsy was made without consulting the parents, and that was perceived as desecrating the corpse. "Why, why did they tear up his tummy and destroy him? The wounds will never heal," she stated.

However, the fact that the traditionally required leave-taking, which intends to free a child from obligations tied to his mother's milk, was mediated before the moment of death has been a consolation. But there is more to it. This child, who was supposed to be buried among the mountains of Kurdistan, was now left lying about blood-stained in a slope of a Christian cemetery. "Why did they choose a grave site at the bottom? I would not have wanted it that way."

In order to understand this case one has to be acquainted with certain parts of folk religion which might influence the process of mourning, such as the concept of "the dead without status" (Pentikäinen 1968; Pentikäinen 1969)[8]. "My child is so pure. He should have a lot of space in order that no dirt will touch him. Those who have lived a bad life get crowded in their grave, but pure people shall have a big space".

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[8] If one takes a closer look at the part of this cemetery where Muslims are buried, it becomes obvious how most graves situated here belong to "dead without status". This is since, as a rule, every effort is made for ordinary people to be sent home for burial in the soil of their forefathers.

On Fridays this woman still offers the favourite dish of her deceased child to the children of the neighbourhood, whom she gathers on the local playground. She has never dared to approach grown-ups for fear of being considered mad "but the children do not understand what this is all about". And thus she nevertheless manages to fullfil at least one obligation.

Migrational example of a death in a foreign country

Level of analysis	Norm breach (exist?)	Ritual performance (correct?)	Consequences (exist?)
Individual	+	−	+
Collective	−	+	−

For quite some time she was also searching for her son around the place of his death out of fear that he might not have found peace among the dead. She described his condition as that of a person being locked up in a room equipped with many doors, but unable to find his way out. In this example we moreover find an actual norm transgression complicating the matter, since the little boy took his own life. But this fact is not pursued by the surroundings which, at least officially, have left such argumentation.

A couple of years and many sessions later the picture is, however, changing as the client alleges to have visited her son's dwelling in the beyond, describing it in an animated way. Though to his mother's desperation he is found walking back and forth with mud up to his knees, as for himself, he seems to be quite content. According to her, he has even become capable of mediating in front of God, prematurely as he was taken away from this life.

This is since he is now seen as representing what is generally referred to as a "second" shahid[9]. He might appear to his mother if his brothers and sisters quarrel in order to comfort, putting his arm around her while they sit on the sofa.

My mother did not exactly tell anybody either though my brother, who died from torture, likewise appeared to her for years. If I asked her about it, she just answered that it was no business of children's. But naturally my sisters and I understood, when, for example, we always had to bake a certain type of bread if the deceased had visited, and we were not allowed to spill any left-overs on such a day, but distribute everything among the poor.
Do you know of others who experience similar things? It is a quite common occurrence if a close and dear person dies. Those who have lived a good life God

[9] The first ones consist of people died in fighting for God's cause.

will release from their graves in order that they might visit home, for example for namaz (prayer).

Bjarne Hodne (1980) has analysed changing attitudes towards death in the Norwegian countryside from the 19th century to the First World War. While most urban people today confront death privately in a hospital setting, surrounded by professionals, death was formerly an occasion that concerned the whole neighbourhood. But one has to remember that this was an obligatory norm in order to ascertain the status of the death as well as to protect the living against unwelcome apparitions.

Parting with the deceased in a quite concrete way was thus often imposed even on small children out of ulterior educational motives. Besides entailing a proper way of mourning, this practice, however, at times brought severe traumatic experiences remaining into old age. According to the author, the former acceptance of death as a fact of everyday life next seems to have brought a denial, which again today contrasts with the practice of certain migrant groups as well as wishes among our own.

I will conclude by referring to a letter addressed to the Norwegian foreign authorities concerning the religious anguish of a client:

> To the responsible authorities in Norway. The undersigned wishes to express thanks for all effort and endeavours by the personnel working with refugees. We are quite content with both the possibilities and good contacts with locals in this town. But due to some problems of our belief which have brought us psychological problems, we applied for change of abode to a southern town, where day and night are normal.

Then follows an explanation concerning prayer times in relationship to the movement of the sun, supplemented by reference to relevant texts and the various practices of different sects as well as countrymen. And the letter concludes: "Because of such obligations, we are required to live in places where day and night follow a normal pattern. We never expected to be sent to a place where such problems arise."

An obligation-based code has several distinctive features. It is the code that takes precedence and is the object of interpretation and elaboration, while the individual per se and his various interior preferences are of little concern. The parity of the motive is less important than the quality of the act and its degree of conformity to proper conduct, which the individual is supposed to match or be punished and considered corrupted if he does not.

V

The present internationalization of religious topics is increasingly making ethical controversies crosscultural in a way that would require closer analysis in many areas of society, such as the social and health care system. Though it is the conflicts of international politics that capture most attention, the presence of third world refugees in our society entails other less obvious but nonetheless profound effects.

Forced migration is generally considered a cumulative psychosocial trauma characterized by initial stigmatization under protracted exceptional conditions, followed by a whole series of unforeseen problems in exile. Among these are the impact of migration on traditional ritualisations.

By way of clinical examples I have elucidated the relationship between personally experienced traumas in Iranian refugees and ritual situations.

- All the examples show a psychosocial imbalance presumed to be characteristic of exceptional ritual situations where something has gone wrong from the perspective of the individual though not necessarily the collective,
- and which are related on the one hand to physical, psychological or ethical transgressions such as autopsy, suicide and breaches in chastity, purity or ritual demands,
- and on the other hand to social outcomes in the form of innocently "fallen" women, mutilated apparitions, young martyrs or ritually unclean children.

Such considerations are liable to further aggravate the refugee dilemma of abandonment, deprivation and absence of belonging. The frequently tragic fates of third world refugees in our welfare societies could be seen as a sort of inverted pilgrimage characterized by a gradual removal from the starting point at "the holy place" and in a "mythical past" towards an unknown and frightening future.

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THOMAS MCELWAIN

Ritual Change in a Turkish Alevi Village

Introducing the Community

This study is a documentation and analysis of change in ritual in the village of Sarılar, on the west bank of the Euphrates River near Yavuseli, Gaziantep. It is based on material collected during the months of May and June 1989 consisting of field notes, recorded interviews, and photographs, as well as comparisons with complementary material collected on subsequent visits to Turkey. The research problem posed was identification of ritual change within the consultants' memory and some tentative ways of situating such change within the socio-economic context.

Sarılar is a pistachio farming village reachable by a daily local bus leaving from the market in the center of Gaziantep. Almost everyone living in the village cultivates the nuts as a cash crop. Other occupations include the few paid officials and school-teachers as well as one or two shopkeepers. Goats, sheep, poultry and a few cows complete the economy. Horses are far fewer than donkeys, and although there are a good many tractors that began to make an appearance in the 1970s, there were no automobiles in the village in 1989. Some families are fortunate enough to have gardens of vegetables and fruit trees on the river bank, but the climate is too arid for such agriculture in other places in the immediate vicinity. Although some land is rented, it appears that most of the land is owned by the families who cultivate it.

The social organization that Naess (1988: 175) reports to be diminishing in importance in Dereköy seems to be in very strong evidence in Sarılar. The village continues to be spatially and socially organized in well-defined groups which could be called endogamic patrilineal, patrilocal clans (*sulale*). These social groups have their own names and quarters. The western third of the village is taken up by the predominant Ali Uşağı with about 420 houses. At the very center of the village there are 32 houses belonging to the Bekir Eyli. On the east side there are 100 houses of the

Deveçili. The northeast quarter is held by about 190 houses of the Hıdır Uşağı. The Cömeler have 150 houses on the southeast.

Although these numbers of households were given to me as residents of Sarılar, in fact, a high percentage of people are non-resident. My consultants suggested that about 50 families are living in Adana, from 200 to 250 in Gaziantep, 200 in Germany and about 50 in other places. Only about 400 families remain in Sarılar.

The household is enclosed by a wall with one gate. Within this area the main house is built with any additional outbuildings. Generally the one structure houses everything. In the poorest homes there is only one storey, but as soon as possible a second storey as living quarters is added and animals remain on the ground level. At least two rooms of living quarters will be found. Cupboards containing bedding and cilindrical woolen pillows are build into the wall. Furniture consists of carpets and such pillows for sitting. The houses are always scrupulously clean, having run-off vents at the juncture of wall and floor for easy washing. The family tends to sleep on a terrace or roof during the summer season when there is no rain.

Meals are served on the large trays typical of the Near East, and are eaten from common dishes, although spoons instead of fingers are used. Hospitality is common and guests are received with tea and cologne on the hands. Men and women come in close social contact as a group in the household, but one to one contact in public is brief and groups in public tend to be separated by sexes.

Marriage is within the clan if possible. Men resident in the city may marry Sunni women, but no Alevi girls from Sarılar are given to Sunni men. Marriage tends to follow the Turkish legal standard, and I noted only one case of bigamy in the village. The roles of men and women are clearly outlined, and although women have a much higher profile in the local Alevi villages than in the Sunni villages nearby, their position is obviously inferior to the men's. Upon meeting a man on the road, a woman must dismount and walk past. When a man enters a room, a seated woman must rise.

In sum, Dengler's (1978: 231) remark on the role of women in Ottoman Turkey describes the present village situation very well. "Turkish women most certainly had some role among the various heterodox Islamic groups, but never one comparable with that of males. Indeed, the women in these groups who gained importance did so because of the reputation and position of their husbands." He goes on to point out that women might attain sainthood, but there was "no institutionalized mechanism offering

a permanent life option in the religious world" (Dengler 1978: 241). It will be noted below in the ritual text (Appendix) that all of the leadership roles are taken up by men, while women are given the ritual representation of some female figures important to Shi'ism and some status in the role of celibate initiates in Bektashi lodges. Even the latter role does not appear to exist in the village.

There is electricity in the village and many homes have refrigerators, electrical cooking devices, television sets and cassette recorders and radios. On the other hand, in contrast to most of the villages around there is no running water. The residents attribute this lack to their having voted against the reigning party in elections. Water must be carried on donkeyback from a spring at the riverside three kilometers from the village. There are cisterns in the village, but this water is not used for consumption. Some of the cisterns are quasi-public and others are to be found within the household enclosure.

In contrast to the surrounding Sunni villages, there is no mosque in the village, nor in any of the three neighboring Alevi villages. There is a house of prayer, as is noted in the inscription above the door, but this *tekke* has fallen into disuse since the death of the last resident *dede*. Although the village *tekke,* which is not a convent in the Bektashi fashion, but a mere building for gathering, was used long after the disbanding of the dervish orders by Turkish law, it is no longer in a usable condition, and no rites are conducted there presently.

Although the sectarian identification of Alevis seems frustrating, it is possible to make some headway in determining the religious tradition of the people in question. Once we have faced the fact that the term is an umbrella for heterodox Islam in Turkey which presents a good deal of variety as well as some recognizable common denominators (Momen 1985: 45–60), the problem does not seem so crucial. Some of these common denominators are an Alevi identity, a certain depreciation of Sunni Muslim practices, adherence to the imamat of Ali, and a strong emotional attachment to the martyrs of Kerbala. Undoubtedly there are beliefs and practices which are peculiar and common to all Alevis, such as the avoidance of the hare, respect of the threshold, and perhaps the *müsahiplik* (ritual siblingship) and the Shi'ite emphasis on Cafer-i Sadık.

Gölpınarlı (1987: 12, 180, 189) emphasises the formative role of the Safavid era on the Kızılbş. He also associates them with the Ahl-i Haqq (1987: 183). Noyan (1987: 13) points out the ethnic and linguistic boundaries of the sect, contrasting the Turkish-speaking Alevi with the Arabic-speaking sects. He gives the common doctrinal basis of the Alevi

as the association (*bağlılık*) of Allah, Muhammed, Ali; the celebration of the *cem*; adherence to the twelve imams; and maintenance of the Caferi school of law (Noyan, 1987: 14). Yürükoğlu (1990: 139) similarly defines the Alevis.

Perhaps the clearest placement of the Alevi among Islamic sects is to be found in Moosa. He treats them along with extremist Shi'ites in what he calls the Ghulat sects, that is, those which are extremist in their doctrines about Ali and divinity. Throughout the book he equates the Bektashi, the Kizilbash (Alawi) and to a certain extent the Shabak (Moosa 1988: 50, 120, et passim). More importantly, Moosa agrees with Gölpınarlı in equating the modern Kizilbash with the earlier Safawid order of dervishes (Moosa 1988: 21–35, 121). The fact that the ritual given here in Appendix includes so many texts from the Safawid period seems to confirm this.

A general profile of the Alevi faith of this village can be attempted. Besides the prophets common to all Islam and the imams common to all twelver Shi'ites (Momen 1985: 23–45; Tabātaba'i 1975: 190–211), the most referred to saints in Sarılar are Hacı Bektaş, a local saint Hacı Küreş and his son Saat Küreş. Although there is a high regard for Mevlana Celaleddin, I was unprepared for the high profile of this figure in Dereköy according to Naess (1988: 179, 180), especially for the use of the Mevlevi style of whirling in the *semah* that he describes. The whirling in Sarılar tradition is more like that described by Birge (1937: 199) for the Bektashi and Erseven (1990: 105–118) for the Alevi.

The institution of *müsahiplik* (ritual siblingship) seems to have followed the same course as that described by Naess (1988: 181) for Dereköy. I found no young people who had been initiated into it. Another similarity with Naess's community is the lack of richness of detail as compared to Birge's descriptions of the *cem.* The *cem* described later in this study is considerably simpler than Birge's descriptions, although a good many things are merely implied in it, but go undescribed, such as the appropriate blessings (*dua*) at the various steps. Again in agreement with Naess, no one in Sarılar would admit to the use of *rakı* in the *cem,* and were it not for its extensive use on the one large sacrificial occasion I observed myself, I would also have had occasion to doubt its use altogether. The general use of alcohol in Sarılar did seem less than what I observed in Hacı Bektaş Köyü. A description of its ritual use will follow.

Also in agreement with Naess (1988: 181), I found a complete ignorance of excommunication as a form of punishment. In fact, the punishment described for Dereköy seemed out of line with what I heard in Sarılar, where confession and attempts at reconciliation and restitution seem to

have been the rule. In general the traditions described for Dereköy seem closer to Sarılar than anything else found in the English literature. I suggest that this is because we are both dealing with purely village tradition without any ties to urban Bektashiism or other orders.

I would suggest that the village Alevi adhere to a fairly coherent tradition with local variety dependent on the specific configuration of saints contributing to belief and practice and other contingent circumstances.

Alevi Traditions in Sarılar

Many things point to Sarılar as a community of Kizilbash Alevi with historical roots in the Safawid order of dervishes. In addition, I found that the Sarı Kız tradition (Şapolyo 1964: 293–297) was told in the village in justification for the name of the village. The Alevis claim that they are discriminated against by the Sunni society. On the other hand, my observation was that co-operation with Sunnis on everyday matters was consistently cordial. In that sense the discrimination is likely to be similar to that practiced against Blacks in America, and contrasts with the harsher discrimination experienced by refugees and guest workers in Europe (note Naess 1988: 194).

In order to elicit what the people themselves considered essential or particular to their faith, I asked them to explain to me how a Sunni would have to change to become an Alevi. Only three things were mentioned, the twelve-day fast of Muharrem, belief in the twelve imams, and the sitting circle prayer (*halka namazı*). It seems significant that they did not remember to mention avoidance of the hare.

When I asked the same question concerning Christians, they responded that a Christian would have to believe in one God, in Muhammad (peace upon him) and all of the prophets, all of the sacred books, in angels, in the day of judgment and in destiny. In terms of practice a Christian would have to begin fasting and praying. It was significant that mention is made of the traditionally accepted Sunni five pillars of faith and two of the pillars of practice, leaving out alms and pilgrimage. Neither was the taboo on eating pork or drinking alcohol mentioned.

When I enquired about the use of alcohol, one man quoted an ayat from the Qur'an to me to the effect that God is merciful. So although it appears that perhaps a majority of Alevis in Sarılar use alcohol, some of

them only on ritual occasions, it is not general to suggest that alcohol is permitted. Rather, it is said that God is merciful.

A contemporary Bektashi apologist, Aşur Erdoğan (s.a.: 106), notes that the prohibition of alcohol refers only to its excessive use, thus leaving room not only for the ritual use of alcohol, but the social use as well. In this he agrees with Moosa (1988: 123, 149).

One of the first points brought up spontaneously by my consultants was the matter of eating the hare. Hare avoidance is very important to all of the Alevi I have met throughout Anatolia. It was said that the hare exhibited the characteristics of nine different animals forbidden as food. In fact only four are mentioned. The hare has the loose skin of a cat, the short tail of the pig, the long ears of a donkey, and the crest of a dog. Erdoğan (s.a.: 88) makes the same comment. Other local consultants suggested that the reason for this taboo was that the female rabbit's menses is extremely bloody or that the meat of the hare when cooked turns mostly to blood.

This taboo is demonstrated by Birge (1937: 173) not to be of Asiatic origin, and thus seems to conflict with Moosa's assumption of pagan Turkish origins for the practice (Moosa 1988: 149). Birge rejects White's suggestion that the origin of the taboo against eating the hare is found in Leviticus 11,6 by pointing out that the camel is not forbidden on the same grounds. Birge's argument is weak on several accounts. Firstly, there are Alevis who state the aversion to come from the Tevrat or Leviticus 11,6. The fact is that the camel is explicitly allowed by the Qur'an, whereas the hare is not mentioned. It is perfectly consistent to continue the tradition of avoiding the hare on the basis of the Tevrat and discontinuing the taboo against the camel on the basis of the Qur'an. One need merely appeal to the principle of abrogation in both cases consistently. The emphasis of the Alevis on the four books and their use of Tevrat far beyond that found among Sunni Muslims (note for example Koç 1988) so that particular customs may well be taken from that source. Finally, other features, such as the extensive use of the star of David above springs and on kitchen utensils in Hacı Bektaş Köyü, indicate the possibility of a Jewish or occult strand in a tradition already swollen from syncretic origins.

Jewish traits are suggested by the somewhat special relationship to the Sabbath, to give another example. Sapolyo (1964: 291) notes the practice of Friday night *cem,* which in itself is not completely unusual in a number of Sufi orders, although Thursday night *dhikr* are much more common. Although the practice is completely unknown to the younger generation, older people pointed out that the Sabbath was observed by the avoidance

of sexual activity and commercial exchange on Friday night and Saturday, while field and housework were not affected. Justification for this was given from the Qur'an 62,11. "And when see they merchandise or sport, they break away unto it, and leave thee standing. Say thou, 'What is with God is better than sport and than merchandise, and God is the Best of sustainers.'" The other Qur'anic texts and the hadith literature on the subject were not alluded to.

On the other hand, assuming that Jewish traits do actually exist among the Alevi, it seems unlikely that they should have the strength and tenacity of the trait of hare avoidance. The problem remains enigmatic.

The second matter brought up by consultants was the matter of *müsahiplik.* This was described briefly with the formula, you share everything with the *müsahip* but your darling. The initiation rite is essentially that described below, including a sacrifice and a witness to the *dede* of the desire to be so initiated. The role of the *müsahip* is vital in the marriage ceremony, since he witnesses the marriage at the occasion of the *dede*'s blessing. When I posed the question about Shi'ite timed marriage (*mut'a*) no one had heard of such a thing. It was explained that "marriage is holy also for the Alevi people, divorce is a big shame for our morality and religion." It was suggested that this was a lie concocted by Sunni people against Alevis.

As I arrived among the Alevis at the close of Ramadhan, the matter of fasting was also brought up. Fasting during Ramadhan is not practiced. The fast of Muharrem was described as being harsher than the Sunni fast, since it was broken only for about four hours in the evening between sunset and midnight. Thirst was pointed out as being in memory of Kerbala. The fast is broken on the afternoon of the twelfth day with şerbet made of water and boiled grape juice, and the avoidance of water, milk, meat, eggs, all animal products, and onions. Three days prior to the beginning of Muharrem a non-obligatory, preliminary fast may be practiced, *karşilama orucu.* Early morning prayer is performed at the *tekke* on the twelfth or last day of the fast. The typical form of Alevi prayer is called *halka namazı,* circle prayer, and is essentially the standard Islamic erect sitting position used between and after prostration.

The following recipe for *aşure* was given, including twelve ingredients to represent the twelve imams, pistachio, walnut, water, sugar, sesame, beans, cinnamon, bakla (black beans), boiled grape juice, hulled wheat (boiled, sun-dried, and stone-hulled with water), raisins, chick peas and finally figs if one of the ingredients is unobtainable. *Aşure su* is distributed to neighbors with a pail and spoon reciprocally.

The *tekke* is the center of religious activity in the Alevi village. It is a simple, one-room structure open for daily prayers as well as the *cem.* Gathering at the *tekke* is the occasion for the transmission of religious traditions through the telling of stories, the recitation of folk poetry, singing to *saz* accompaniment, seeking the blessings of the *dede* for any and sundry occasion. The daily prayers were reported to be voluntary and conformable to Shi'ite practice, preceded nevertheless with ablutions identical to the surrounding Sunni practice. Prayers were formally offered in the Shi'ite way of combining Dhohr and 'Asr in the afternoon and Maghrib and 'Isha in the evening. Friday prayer was also performed. Since the *tekke* is no longer in use I was not able to observe this and rely on consultants' reports. I was not able to verify whether *namaz* continues to be practiced by people in private, but have the impression that it is rare if it occurs at all.

The educational aspect of the *tekke* was high in the past. The earlier generation included an elite who were capable of reading and understanding the Qur'an in Arabic, if what consultants say is true. Now tradition is carried on in evening conversations before or after the favorite television programs, and few, if any in the village are literate in Arabic.

The Veneration of Local Saints

Naess (1988: 182, 183) describes the breakdown of Alevi rituals in Dereköy. A similar process has taken place in Sarılar. Naess attributes the breakdown to several factors. These are the rise of community factions around competing *dede,* the action of young people with radical ideas who damaged the *tekke,* Sunni pressure from without, and fear of persecution and the resulting outward conformity to majority practice.

The process of change in Sarılar can be described in similar general categories, but the actual details of events are in many ways contrasting. The first problem is the lack of a *dede.* In Sarılar this did not come about through quarrels, but from the fact that the *dede* died and his son moved away to Gaziantep for the economic advantages, leaving a leadership vacuum. There has not been a resident *dede* for decades.

The second problem was the action of radical young people in Dereköy. Young people in Sarılar have also been influenced by new ideas, but they have not led to radical behavior. Instead, there is an armchair interest in Marxist philosophy on one hand, while the actual values governing

behavior are extremely Atatürkist and conformist. This results in a superficiality in Alevi religiosity and a neglect of *cem* related rituals. The Alevi religiosity among the young includes a fascination with Turkish folk music to *bağlama* accompaniment and this has taken place of the more formal *cem,* more often than not enjoyed through cassette recordings. Finally the youth join their elders in continuing the veneration of local saints, the importance of which must have grown as it replaced many of the functions of the *cem.*

The third factor mentioned was outside Sunni pressure. The presence of a Sunni mosque in Dereköy makes this especially visible. Sarılar does not have a mosque nor is there a paid functionary, imam or other, in the community. On the other hand, the people of Sarılar are very sensitive to outside Sunni pressure. They complain that their religious tradition is breaking down precisely because they do not enjoy the same government support in the propagation of their traditions that Sunnis have, nor is there matching time in education and the media.

The final factor, fear of persecution, is a vital one in Sarılar as well. There is a strong fear of persecution and this does affect daily behavior as well as the degree of activity in pursuits perceived to be peculiarly Alevi. Naess (1988: 177) suggested accommodation to Sunni practice by women covering their heads in the nearby predominantly Sunni town. In Sarılar, on the contrary, this choice is an individual matter, the elderly tend to cover their heads, the young do not, whether they are in the village or in the town. I did not document cases of either official or unofficial persecution in the area.

The result of all of these factors is that the more organized forms of Alevi faith requiring the employ of a hierarchy or religious specialist have disappeared from Sarılar because of changes in the religiosity of the people, the direction of development in modern Turkish society the lack of a resident *dede,* and the unfavorable social climate in general. This has prepared the way for veneration of local saints requiring the employment of no religious specialists to take over most of the former functions of formal religious practice.

I have identified three local saints who are the objects of veneration in the community. I could not get a name at all for the nearest tomb, which lies on a rise to northeast of the village. The place is called merely Çıralık, the candlestand. Inquiry as to the identity of the saint was met with a story describing the advent of the last *dede* to the village. Apparently he was first met on this spot, which continues to be a place of veneration. Once a year on or about May 6 the entire village gathers

there for sacrifices. Otherwise people visit the spot in connection with private concerns.

At some distance from the village (ca. 15 km.) there are two tombs venerated by people from all of the surrounding Alevi villages. One of these is the tomb of Hacı Küreş and the other is the tomb of his son, Saat Küreş. Saat is supposed to have received the name, originally Sait, from his boyhood miracle. His father went on pilgrimage and while he was gone a funeral occurred in the community. The boy miraculously took *aşure* to his father. When the father returned home he already knew of the death, because his son had informed him of it in Mecca. The whole journey, both ways, was completed in an hour, hence the name Saat, hour. This story is just like one told about Hacı Bektaş. Note Birge (1937: 36) for the similar story. It is probable that this motif could be collected for a good many local saints in different areas.

The story most current in Sarılar about Hacı Baktaş is a different one, and perhaps a more famous one as well. That is the story of his arrival in Anatolia in the form of a bird, after having thrown the flaming mulberry branch across the miles, where it rooted in omen of his coming. Note Birge (1937: 37) as well as the Vilayetname of Hacı Bektaş (Noyan 1986).

The tree that is supposed to have grown from this firebrand is still growing in front of the supposed tomb of Balim Sultan. I do not know if people still remove bark from it for healing purposes as Birge suggests, but the tree is covered with the small strips of cloth that pilgrims coming in veneration of the saint leave there.

The following narrative is typical as an example of veneration of the local saints. Before the conception of her first-born son, Meryem saw a dream of Hacı Küreş on a horse outside the gate of their compound. The saint addressed her saying that she should have a son whom she should name after the saint. He also promised that the son would be followed with success through life if she took sand from where she saw the horse's hoofs and cleaned the new-born with it. Upon awakening she collected the sand and saved it for the occasion. She did not have occasion to use the sand, however, since it was felt necessary to name the son that was in fact born after the late husband of the father's sister, who was killed in a village quarrel about the election of the headman or *muhtar.* He was hit by a flying stone in the turmoil. The mother and aunt took an offering of two metres of green cloth to the tomb of Hacı Küreş and the grandfather sacrificed a young goat at the tomb in order to make their apologies for the change in name.

An examination of the tombs of the saints shows that such offerings

may be found there, drapped over the raised sarcophagus. Similarly a tree near the tomb serves as a place to leave the strips of cloth brought in veneration. Stones in veneration are left in many places in a container for the purpose, but I observed people in Sarılar licking pebbles and attaching them to the walls of the tomb when making their wishes and vows.

The Rites of Sacrifice in Sarılar Today

Animal sacrifice is current in Sarılar today on four types of occasions. These are the *kurban bayram,* when a sacrifice is performed at home, the sacrifice at the end of the twelve days of Muharrem, the sacrifices of *ziyaret,* veneration at the tomb of a local saint, and finally personal and family sacrifices on the occasion of weddings, funerals, and at special occurences.

Funerary sacrifice is made for men only. At first glance this may seem to accord men a greater honor, but in fact the male sheep without blemish is to facilitate the man's passage to a comfortable place after death. The man is more susceptible to the punishment of the grave and needs this help, whereas a woman goes directly through to comfort and rests peacefully. So the sacrifice is to facilitate the lowering of the man from difficulty, *dardan indirmek.*

I was able to observe a large sacrificial occasion at the tomb of Saat Küreş. On Sunday, May 14, 1989, the Ali Uşağı portion of the village joined the people of four other villages to perform the *ziyaret.* This is done each year on the weekend nearest May 6. This year the rest of the village performed the *ziyaret* at the nearby Çıralık at the proper time on May 7, but the Ali Uşağı were not on speaking terms with the others because of a quarrel about the way the recent election of the *muhtar* had gone. So they joined the other villages.

May 6 is one of the four festivals celebrated by the Bektashi in general. Sertoğlu (1969: 206, 226) gives these as Kurban Bayram, Muharrem, Navruz (March 21) and Hıdrellez (May 6) or Hızırilyas günü as Oytan (1945: 411) writes it. Navruz, the Persian New Year and also the Bektashi New Year, is in fact the beginning of spring. Similarly May 6 is the beginning of summer. Justification for the festival is made on the basis of the birthday of the Prophet, which was three weeks earlier by the solar calendar. The festival is associated with Hızır or al-Khadir, the name given to the figure with Moses in Qur'an 18: 60–82. This character is

well-known in legend throughout the Islamic world, representing herbage, greenness, and immortality (Oytan 1945: 66).

People came from all directions in rented buses and flatbed trucks, on tractors, on horseback, donkeyback or on foot, all dressed in their best western style clothing, although they wear traditional Turkish clothing ordinarily. We got up at five o'clock in the morning to get a place on the bus. There were even people sitting on top of the bus. At one point we crossed the Kara Su River and dozens of people of all ages jumped off and drenched themselves, clothes and all, much to the annoyance of the bus-drivers.

At the cemetery we found the tomb of Saat Küreş, a stone building painted a light blue and set among the oaks. The holy area is enclosed by a stone wall. Within this enclosure the sacrifice of about four hundred animals took place, mostly young goats, but also sheep and a few poultry.

Within the tomb the sarcophagus was covered with green cloth. People attached their pebbles to the inside or outside walls of the tomb while making their vows, whereas others tied strips of cloth to the nearest tree. For a while the enclosure was full of people and animals, men with their sons performing the sacrifice while mothers and daughters supervised. There was a busied air of importance. The animals were thrown onto the ground with the neck extended. With one swift movement of the knife the neck was opened and blood spurted out freely. Many people had blood on them.

Each family found a place under the oaks. The animals were butchered in sunlit open places away from where the family activities were going on, and the meat then brought over and cooked. The fresh, raw livers were given as a delicacy to the smaller children. Families gather under their respective trees while preparing the meal. The celebration lasts until evening. Marriages are celebrated, folk dances are performed to the accompaniment of song and *bağlama,* and there are general reunions with relatives that might not have been seen for a year or more. The men sit in circles under the trees, singing folk-songs often of the Alevi tradition, sometimes dancing. They drink *rakı* (brandy) very slowly, mixed with water or coca-cola. Such non-alcoholic drinks as well as toys and souvenirs are available for sale. Everyone has brought his own supply of alcohol, which is shared freely. The mood is extremely warm, there is no quarreling or shouting. People go from group to group, enjoying different company for minutes or hours. Men offer toasts to one another and the host at the circle offers bits of meat to his friends around him, each grasping his hand in both of theirs as they accept the meat in their mouths from his

fingers. There is a good deal of physical contact, though no impropriety to be seen. A couple of loving men on occasion may sink onto the ground with their arms wrapped about one another in a drunken stupor.

It appeared that the use of alcohol was restricted to the men. The women's behavior was less ritualized as well. They just spent their time taking care of the cooking and visiting together. There was a general partition between the sexes, but not to a rigorous point.

I asked questions on the meaning of the sacrifice itself and received the following answers. It is a way of praying. It is a way of showing that we are servants of God. It is a way of giving back to God something that we own, since all things are really His and we have all things from His hand.

It is significant that all forms of sacrifice still prevalent in Sarılar can be performed by the family without recourse to a religious specialist. Even the large group occasion is really an ensemble of family ritual units.

A Description of Ritually Specialized Sacrifice

Although it was not possible to observe a formal *cem* in Sarılar because they are non-existent, I was able to obtain a guidebook of the ritual as formerly performed from the brothers Vakkas and Ali Dönmez, who formerly served as *gözcü* or helpers and watchmen in the *tekke* in Sarılar. Mr Dönmez hoped that I would publish these as he felt it represented a tradition that was past and should be preserved for posterity. He also hoped that it might fall into the hands of such as might revive the tradition.

The ritual as presented here (see Appendix) is an English translation of the explanatory material and an English translation with the original Turkish of the liturgical texts. An appendix of what Mr Dönmez called *gazel* appropriate for use with the *cem* is not included. It should be noted that this ritual is essentially the same as that described in Sertoğlu (1969: 257–268) and Oytan (1945: 203–226), although these writers do not include so much of the poetical portions as are found here. On the other hand, they include texts for *dua* that are missing in my recordings and only alluded to in the comments. As it will be seen, the oral transmission of the ritual and the emphasis on oral performance without reference to a written text have led to a deterioration, so that the texts of the poems are often jumbled.

The difficulties of translating Turkish folk poetry in the Bektashi tradition are numberless. Despite efforts to gain the help of several well-educated Turks, some of whom should have had specialist expertise in the area, there remain some expressions in the texts that are not at all clear. In the end I must take responsibility for the quality of the translation altogether. I am indebted, however, to Prof. Erkan Türkmen of Seljuk University at Konya for his last-minute review of the material and his corrections of several errors.

It was my desire to achieve translations that could be sung to the same tunes used in the actual *cem,* rather than awkward and literal renditions. Most of the material is of a genre well described by Annemarie Schimmel (1982: 148). "The fourlined stanza in the Turkish tradition, in which the first three lines rhyme while the rhyme of the fourth line continues through the whole poem. This is related to tarşi' in high Persian poetry, in which the two hemistichs of a verse are split into four units, three of them with internal rhyme (a form often used by Rumi). The Turkish popular meters employ syllable counting, they are not quantitative as in the Arabo-Persian literary tradition."

The main problem in replicating Turkish rhymes comes from the fact that nothing in English corresponds to Turkish vowel harmony. This feature in Turkish lessens the monotony of the rhyme a good deal. I have tried to compensate for this by using a judicious amount of assonance and consonance, with, I think, some success in translating the flavor of the verses.

Another problem is the replication of the long meter in Turkish, which has eleven syllables. This will seem awkward to the reader who expects the sing-song quality of an English jingle. The eleventh syllable prevents this, so that the rhythm actually comes closer to free verse in English despite the rigorous line length. In any case, the whole liturgy is reproduced here in an English that corresponds to the Turkish formal requirements perfectly. Whether it succeeds in representing the spirit and content of the liturgy, I am not in a position to judge, but hope that it does so.

The content of the poems, though not beyond the grasp of an ordinary person, does present enormous problems. As Schimmel says from long experience, "sometimes, the statements of mystical folk poets defy rational explanation" (1982: 162). She goes on to enumerate several possible kinds of interpretation. These include the expression of pantheistic flights into the timeless and spaceless, the expression of drug-induced trips in some cases, mere use of the paradox that mystics so often love, the means of preserving secret doctrine from outside eyes, a pedigogical device as a form

of intellectual shock something on the order of the koan in Zen Buddhism. She sees the highest level as an expression of theopathic locutions growing out of the agitation of the innermost hearts of the ecstatic. Finally, it is a mere fact that nonsense verse is to be found in the tradition. All of these explanations are probably valid for the type poetry we are concerned with here, and I have tried to keep this in mind in the work of translation.

Insofar as the handling of the Turkish text goes, I have not attempted to standardize language or spelling, but left the material as found in Mr Dönmez's guidebook. For double checking and at the insistence of Mr Dönmez, a cassette recording of the entire book was made, which he recited from memory.

I have been able to identify about one third of the poems from published sources and found them to correspond to Dönmez' version to about 60 per cent. Discrepancies are in the order of reversals, alternate words with similar meanings, alternate words with different meanings, omissions, additions and alternate spellings. There are also additional verses in Dönmez' version, perhaps reflecting the tendency to suppress portions offensive to Sunnis in publications.

The following poems are to be found in their respective sources: "Akıl ermaz yaradanın sırrına" in Oytan 1945: 208; "Kurbanlar tığlamip gülbent çekildi" in Gölpınarlı 1963: 168; "Her sabah" by Pir Sultan in Gölpınarlı 1963: 51 and Bezirci 1986: 286; "Devredip gezersin dari fariyi" in Sertoğlu 1969: 266 and Köseoğlu 1988: 64; and "Gece gündüz arzumanım Kerbala" by Pir Sultan in Bezirci 1986: 238. None have been translated into English before, insofar as I know, and it is perhaps unfortunate that I am working with a text inferior to the published ones.

Rather than a detailed commentary on the text, I shall content myself with some remarks on the specific use of certain themes and images on one hand and the symbolism present especially as it relates to the understanding of sacrifice on the other.

A number of Turkish words have been left untranslated in most cases since a simple equivalent does not exist in English. Many of these are Turkish forms of words better known in Arabic forms, such as *Kible* (direction of prayer), *Kabe* (house of God), *Miracname* (story of the ascent of the Prophet), *meydan* (central ritual area in the dervish lodge), *mümin* (true believer), *talip* (applicant for initiation) and *mürşit* (guide into initiation). Particular jargon of the dervish lodge is to be found especially. The word *pir* is generally reserved for a saint, but in this ritual seems to refer to the officiating *dede,* while *rehber,* or guide, seems to refer to the officiating baba. Meclis refers specifically to a council of

the lodge. *Aşık* refers to uninitiated participants and *Bacı* refers to fully initiated women celibate members of the Bektashi lodge. *Eren, zekir* and *muhip* are words used for the initiated member of the order. It does not appear that a fourfold hierarchy is to be found in the village rite as in the urban Bektashi lodges, and the many terms overlap. The *tekke* refers to the lodge itself. The *post* is a sheepskin upon which those officiating sit or stand and which forms a focus of some ritual acts. A number of *posts* may be present.

Two instruments are mentioned, the *saz,* which is a four-stringed lute with a long neck and bound, moveable frets. The *bağlama* differs from this in being larger. Sung poems referred to by categories include the *nefes* (literally breath), the *duaz* or *düvaz,* the *şahlama* (a poem in praise of a *pir*), and the *gazel* (referring to the notable Persian form).

The twelve holy imams according to twelver Shi'ite faith are mentioned throughout in Turkish orthography (Momen 1985: 23–45; Tabātaba'i 1975: 190–211). Associated with these are three female figures, Fatma, Hadice, and Şehriban. A number of epithets are related to Hazret Ali: Düldül (also the name of a mount of the Prophet), Kamber, Haydar, Murtaza and of course *zülfikar,* the double-tipped sword of Ali. The term dost is generally appled to Hazret Ali and has as such a meaning far beyond mere friend, as it is sometimes translated. The concept is the waliya, divine friendship.

Some words relate to the Kerbala experience, which of course has a great deal to do with the meaning of sacrifice. The name Yezid is mentioned on occasion with a curse (Kılıç 1989: 110, 143). It is in fact the practice in the village to drink water from a glass in two swallows, pouring out the drops on the ground and cursing Yezid. This small sacrifice of water is in remembrance of the thirst at Kerbala caused by the attack on Husain and his followers. Similarly Mervan's sword is singled out for a deprecation. (Oytan 1945: 9; Sertoğlu 1969: 356, 357).

The words Yemen and Kaf do not refer to geographical places but the mystical lands attained through the *semah.* Kaf is the world-surrounding mountain, home of the mystical bird, the Simurgh, symbol of the divine in the work of Fariduddin 'Attar and later mystics. The theme of Yemen as a symbol of the intuitive knowledge of God as opposed to rationalistic means of attaining truth is mentioned by many Bektashi poets (note Öztelli 1985: 205).

I have translated the word hak as Truth generally, but sometimes as Reality. Neither of these words begin to express the connotation of the word hak in Islamic mysticism. The word seems to refer to God as

the goal of mystical practice and the self which has attained the goal of divine unity. A discussion of the Bektashi concept of God in particular is found in Eyuboğlu (1990: 251). The English literature consistently refers to a Trinity of Allah, Muhammet Ali (Birge 1937: 132). There is some justification for this in such sentences as "God is Ali and Ali is God." Nothing can be more true than the fact that Bektashi concepts of creation as divine emanation constitute a breach with those schools of theology in Islam which make a radical distinction between God and creation. Bektashi thought contains all of the layers of Islamic mysticism from the early voluntaristic to the late pantheistic and even atheistic. But to suggest a parallel between Christian concepts of the Trinity and the Bektashi juxtaposition of the names Allah and Muhammet Ali is a falsification. However, I have found evidence of variation among people with an Alevi identity. I found people of Arabic language in Adana who did say that Ali was a manifestation of God. But these people should probably be classified with the Syrian 'Alawi or Nusayri. The people in Sarılar, on the other hand, did not hint at anything that might call their belief in the absolute oneness of God into question. This could, of course, be interpreted as accommodation (Note Momen 1985: 66, 67).

Even so careful and contemporary a scholar as Moosa makes the compromised unity of God the test question for defining the Alevi and other sects. The assumption is these sects do have heterodox beliefs about the unity of God, namely in ascription of divinity to Ali or a united Muhammad Ali figure in a sort of trinity. Where this doctrine does not appear, the explanation is that it is being hidden (Moosa 1988: 41, 50–65). The texts of the ritual could extensively be interpreted as confirming that premise. Nevertheless, I was not able personally to elicit anything from anyone in Sarılar that was out of line with orthodox Shi'ite concepts of God (Note Momen 1985: 78).

The Christian influence on the formative period of the Bektashi-Alevi is undeniable. Nevertheless there has been a great deal of excess in supposition about remnants of such practices as the eucharist in the sherbet and the sign of the cross in the *niyaz,* for example. A recent work went so far as to say that "the Bektashi represent an extremist Christianizing wing of Sufism" (Baldick 1989: 170). That may be true for the Balkan area, which the author probably had in mind, but seems unwarranted in southeastern Turkey.

Many of the poems include the name of the author in the last verse. There seems to be a preponderance of poems from the Safavid period in this collection, and this may be an indication of the influences particular

to this community, which lies on the border between the Ottomans and the Safavids. The names mentioned are Teslim Abdal, Asl Shah, Shah Hata, Dervish Süleyman, Kul Hümmet, Kul Hüseyin, and Genç Abdal. Short biographies of these can be found in most of the collections referred to in the book list. The fullest biographies are found in Nüzhet (1930: 208, 232, 307), unfortunately out of print and rare. A longer biography of Teslim Abdal with a collection of poems is found in Şahın's Kulhak. Fuller biographies of Yunus Emre (1987: 245–304) (note Yesirgil 1963; Aktüccar 1984) and Pir Sultan (note Kudret 1965) are available.

The four books mentioned in the ritual are Tevrat (the books of Moses or the Tanach), Zabur (the Biblical Psalms or Tephilim), Injil (the Gospel or the New Testament) and the Qur'an. The four holy faiths referred to are Judaism, the faith of the Prophet David, Christianity, and Islam.

There are many practices stimulating the mystical experience both in the ritual itself and in the poems. Among these are *niyaz* or prostration, *zikr* or the silent or audible recitation of the names of God, the *semah* or whirling dervish dance not to be confused with the mevlevi practice, the *dua* prayer and blessing, the circle prayer, taking the sherbet, the performance of sacrifice and the singing of *nefes, duaz,* and *gazel.* The use of alcohol is mentioned in the poems, but not included in the ritual description.

The ritual use of mind-changing drugs such as alcohol has been commented upon extensively. An early reference is found in the Kitab al-Ta'arruf (Kalabadhi 1978: 110, 111). Intoxication is seen to produce an overmastering sense of God's being which destroys one's capacity to distinguish between what pains and what gives pleasure.

The mystical experience itself is expressed in terms of passing through four consecutive gates: the *sheriat,* or Islamic law, the *tarikat* or dervish order, *marafet* or mystical knowledge of God, and *hakikat* or the attainment of *hak,* loving unity with the divine.

The symbols of the mystical experience in this ritual are many, but can be divided into those using the figure of ascent and those using the figure of love. Perhaps the two are represented by nightingales and roses. Figures of ascent are of course in the central poems of the ritual, the poems of the *Miracname* and the two crane poems at the end. The arcs of descent and ascent are suggested by the reference to threshold and the place of the *semah,* entrance into which is symbolic of entrance into the universe as a living human being.

The crane is used extensively in Bektashi poetry as a symbol of the ascending soul, of Hazret Ali, and of the divine (Köseoğlu 1988: 64;

Yüksel 1987: 89; Öztelli 1985: 205; Sertoğlu 1969: 265; and even the contemporary Bektashi poets Kılıçaslan s.a.: 77; Yüksel 1987: 89).

A lighter symbol of the same order is that of the swallow. Its importance in the ritual is meagre, but the enormous swallow population of the area makes it a symbol which must be especially significant in the daily lives of people who spend much of their time laboriously plowing beneath the swiftly soaring and diving birds.

The *dergah,* place of *semah* or dervish ecstatic dance in the story of ascent is referred to as well. Versions of the ascent are numberless. The one included here is shorter than many, and takes a functional slot in the ritual often taken by the story of the birth of the Prophet in many Sufi orders, although it so occurs on occasion. "On the occasion of the Prophet's noctural ascension (on the eve of 27 Rajab) and sometimes on other occasions the mi'raj story is recited in place of the mawlid" (Trimingham 1971: 208).

Much has been written about the varied ideas that especially Sufis may have about the ascension of the Prophet. Some take the meaning literally, whereas others appeal to a divisible anthropology. The present text seems to opt for the latter, the prophet's *beli* (waist) and *akil* (intelligence, senses) being taken or bound by the angel. The binding of the waist, an important part of the initiation ritual, can thus be seen as a symbol of ascent.

The love symbols are varied. Of course the famous Sufi love symbol of Leyla and Mejnun is apparent. The use of this in Bektashi poetry goes back to Yunus Emre (Gürer 1961: 74). Roses of Erdebil has become a symbol of love mysticism, although it is originally a reference to the role of Shah Ismail and the Safavid order of dervishes. Gölpınarlı (1987: 149) notes that pilgrimage to Erdebil has been as esteemed as that to Mecca.

The symbol of intoxication is a part of love mysticism as well. The sip of wine is the same word as taking a breath and refers to the progression toward the goal of union in divine love. This figure appears time and again in the poems of this ritual. Less frequently, but perhaps more touchingly, is the symbol of the bee on its quest for honey.

Finally sacrifice unites the two symbols of love and ascent. Sacrifice is seen as a gift of love and as a freeing of the soul to ascend to the divine. The equivalency of the sacrificial animal and the initiate is apparent in the very first poem of the ritual and is referred to often throughout. Such references are not always clear, especially when using such symbols as that of the *dar,* or *darağacı,* the gallows. This is the center of the *meydan,* the central place of ritual acts. The name Mansur is associated with

it, but this does not apparently refer to the murderer of the sixth holy imam Cafer, rather to the patrinym of al-Hallaj, the great mystic who was executed for saying, "I am al-Haqq (God)." (Yürükoğlu 1990: 120; Gölpınarlı 1987: 539).

The positioning of the right toe upon the left is symbolic of presenting oneself as sacrifice, just as is the prostration. "Very important is the detail appearing in all stories of the sacrifice, — the position given to the foreleg of the animal to be slaughtered. It is that of the posture of the qapi or gulbang, described in the chapter on darwishism" (Ivanow 1953: 83).

Roermer (1986: 214) points out the close relation between viewing oneself as a sacrifice and total allegiance to the *mürşit.* "The state which he (Shah Ismail) founded perpetuated the Ardabil religious order ... characterized by the taj-i haidari ... Thereby the name Qizilbash became common usage ... absolute obedience to the murshid was demanded of them. We know that the Qizilbash soldiers fulfilled this obligation .... Their battle cry is significant: Qurban oldighim pirüm mürshidim! (My spiritual leader and master, for whom I sacrifice myself)."

The figure of the grape cut in pieces and divided is symbolic of self-sacrifice and reminiscent of the practice described among the Ahl-i Haqq by Ivanow (1953: 4). In the renewal of initiation rites there is what is known as "handing over one's head" *sar supurdan* or *sar dadan.* Its symbol was to cut a nutmeg in pieces and distribute them.

A contemporary Bektashi apologist has written on the subject of sacrifice (Kaya 1989). Although focusing on technical features of how the slaughtering should take place, (note also Sertoğlu 1969: 288) the author's main objective is to show how sacrifice symbolically unites the participant to the Ehl-i Beyt or people of the house (Shi'ite source of esoteric knowledge in the family of the prophet), and is symbolically to partake of the kevser or mystical spring of which Hazret Ali is the cup-bearer.

Conclusion: Analysis of Ritual Change

Although the mobility of the Alevi *dede* must have meant that Alevi ritual in any given village must have varied between a full ritual life centred on the lodge and an emphasis on individual and family practice, there are some new factors in recent decades that must be associated with definite changes.

Two factors especially are to be mentioned. The first is the population drain from the village to areas of economic and educational betterment. The second is the process of modernization. The Turkish government fosters both of these processes through education and the media. For the most part these are perceived as positive developments. The only result that must be seen as negative is the impoverishment of the genetic pool in the village. The results on ritual are merely to be documented and evaluated here without drawing any value judgment.

The first result is the change from a balanced ritual life engaging the individual, the household unit, the *sulale,* and the whole village to a ritual life engaging predominantly the individual and the household unit. This means that the lodge ritual has in practice disappeared and along with it the transmission of the musahip tradition. An important vehicle of social interaction and economic interdependence has thus been lost.

On the other hand, increased importance must be found in those rituals that can be maintained on the individual and household level. These are especially concerned with animal sacrifice and the performance of Alevi folk-music.

The *ziyaret,* veneration of local saints, has taken on an additional function. These occasions provide an opportunity for reaffirming community identity with those living outside the village and who return to participate in the annual sacrificial festivals such as May 6.

After living in the village and participating in its religious life, my impression is that the mysticism of the dervish lodge remains as a certain life attitude along with the new views of modernization that have been so well inculcated. Although modernization, at least in the Turkish Alevi context, tends to conflict with the mystical experience of the Bektashi dervish in some areas, a democratized inner core remains. One sentence which I heard many times in the village illustrates the point: "The doorstep is the Kabe."

Appendix

The Rites of Slaughtering Sacrifice according to the Twelve Imams in the Alevi Order of Dervishes: The guidebook of Vakkas and Ali Dönmez

This is an example of the ritual of slaughtering a sacrifice for a *pir, rehber* or candidate to initiation. Announcement of the sacrifice is made by a *müsahip*

throughout the village with the formula, Eat a morsel of our sacrifice tomorrow (*yarınki gün bizim kurbanımız bir lokmamızı yiyin*).

If there are those in the village who are offended by those offering the sacrifice, let a reconciliation be made among them. But if the man remains obstinate in refusing to come to the *tekke,* let it be said, "Such and such person refuses to come and what is your decision?" Let one person from the *meclis* go and hear his position, and should he still refuse to attend, let him say that this sacrifice of the other *müsahip* be not annulled.

Let a ram be brought for sacrifice to the *meydan* of the forties. With feet bare and heads uncovered, let the elder *müsahip* stand at the right side of the ram and the younger at the left side, raise the right leg of the ram and kiss the top of the right ear above the eyes.

Then the *dede* recites a *dua* to the ram. When the *dua* is completed, the ram is left in the middle, everyone kneels and sits down. The *zekir* play the *saz* to the ram, going through the rosary. The ram's rosary *nefes* follows.

To God's lovers, saints of forties and sevens,	*Erler evliyalar kırklar yediler*
I am the sacrifice of the twelve imams.	*Oniki imamların kurbanıyem ben,*
I turned to the Kible, my tekbir given,	*Verildi tekbirim döndüm kibleme*
I am the sacrifice of the twelve imams.	*Oniki imamların kurbanıyem ben.*
I make my mother barren, father Gabriel	*Anam kısır koyım atam Cebrail*
Sharpened my knife, my moisture,	*Bilendi bıçağim gelinde suyum,*
dripping out, comes.	*Hakkın emri ile oldum hükmüme gail*
By the command of truth I bowed to trouble.	*Oniki imamların kurkanıyem ben.*
I am the sacrifice of the twelve imams.	
I recovered truth's edict to earth and sky,	*Şakalak koç ile bile yayıldım*
As I was spread out together with the ram,	*Hak emretti yere ğoğe ayıldım,*
The desirers of light with strength counted I,	*Feriştahlar pençe vurdu sayıldım*
I am the sacrifice of the twelve imams.	*Oniki imamların kurbanıyem ben.*
Seven times they came and cut my fleece	*Yedi defa tüylerimi kırkdılar*
away,	*Ibrahimin sürüsüne kattılar,*
And thus they add to the flocks of Abraham.	*Etlerimi lime lime ettiler*
They cut my flesh in the smallest pieces, yea,	*Oniki imamların kurbanıyem ben.*
I am the sacrifice of the twelve imams.	
Dervish Ali I am, my blood overflowed,	*Derviş Ali'm kanım magaha dökmem*
I rise not from my post till my pir is come.	*Pirim gelmeyince postumdan çıkmam,*
I fear not though for God's sake I am	*Hak için ölmeye ben esef çekmem*
death's own,	*Oniki imamların kurbanıyem ben.*
I am the sacrifice of the twelve imams.	

After the completion of this *nefes* the following *dua* is read.

To reach sense of the Creator's mystery	*Akıl ermez yaradanın sırrına*
To Muhammet Ali fell this sacrifice.	*Muhammet Ali'ye indi bu kurban,*
I become sacrifice for Reality,	*Kurban olam kudretinin nuruna,*
To Hasan, Hüseyin fell this sacrifice.	*Hasan Hüseyin'e indi bu kurban.*

To be in Imam Zeynel's control my boast,
It was I who was Muhammet Bakır's dost,
I it was who was Caferi Sadik's post,
To Kazım, to Rıza fell this sacrifice.

Al Imam Zeynel'in desdinde idim,
Muhammet Bakır'ın dostunda idim,
Caferi Sadık'ın postunda idim,
Musa Kazım Rıza'ya indi bu kurban.

I was the true light of Muhammet Takı.
I was the mystery of Aliyel Nakı.
I was the house of Hasan-ül Askeri.
To Muhammet Mehdi fell this sacrifice.

Muhammet Takı'nın nurunda idim,
Aliyel Nakı'nın sırında idim,
Hasan-ül Askeri darında idim,
Muhammet Mehti'ye indi bu kurban.

To Aslı Shah's courageous group's best abode,
The binding of the truth's the end of this road,
One sacrifice each year is the seeker's load,
To Muhammet at last fell this sacrifice.

Aslı şahı merdan gürühü naci
Hakikata bağlı bu yolun ucu,
Senede bir kurban talibin borcu,
Muhammet Mustafa'ya indi bu kurban.

I am Shah Hata, as everybody says,
I make this sacrifice as in ancient days,
Its nails the beads, its blood coral for God's praise,
To the twelve imams has fallen sacrifice.

Şah Hatayım der bilirmi her can
Kurban üstüne yürüdü erkan,
Tırnağı tesbih kanıda mercan
Oniki imamlar indi bu kurban.

The *pir* recites a *dua,* the third *duaz.* Then the ram is handed over to the slaughterer. The slaughterer with knife in hand cuts the ram and its blood is poured out drop by drop on the earth. Let the bones and entrails of the ram, with the blood, be removed and buried in a pit closed out of the reach of cats and dogs. Then the slaughterer strikes off the meat in small pieces with a crooked knife. The *pir* delivers a *dua* and hands the meat over to the cook. The cook prepares the given amount of meat. The *aşık* play upon the *saz* reciting the *nefes,* while the *muhip* whirl the *sēmah.* After a while, the cook checks the meat to see if it is done and may be distributed. When the meat is done the cook gives that information. The *rehber* is the one who gives the companions the command, Be ready. Then they drop onto the *posts* of the *meydan* and the *müsahip* recite by heart the composition of the following *nefes.*

The offering's lanced, recited is the prayer.
I seemed to awaken from my slumber there,
When the standards of the four gates were laid bare,
Naked into the place of semah came I.

Kurbanlar tığlanıp gülbent (gülbank) çekildi,
Gaflet uykusundan uyana geldim.
Dörт kapı sancağı anda dikildi,
Üryan büryan olup meydana geldim.

First upon the threshold I laid down my head,
So they took me in the room of life full-fed
And in the path of the saints my struggle led,
To sacrifice both my head and soul came I.

Evvel eşiğine koydun başımı
İçeri aldılar diktim (döktüm) yaşımı,
Erenler yolunda yer (gör) savaşımı,
Can ve basş koyarak kurbana geldim.

The inner light woke up in that sip of wine,
My guide tied a band around this neck of mine,
And then I took three more steps in the design,
To trust the sacrifice of the lamb came I.

Ol demde uyandı batım çrağı
Rehberim boynuma bent etti bağı
Üç kadın ileri ettim ayağı
Kuzu kurban derler imana geldim.
(Koç kurban dediler imana geldim)

The pir held my ear and whispered quietly,	*Pirim kulağıma eyledi telkın*
And being so close to Muhammet Ali,	*Muhammet Ali'ye almasız yakın*
My way is one of a firm friend, Caferi,	*Mezhebım Caferi'dir sadik ul metin*
To take the oath with thanks to Allah came I.	*Allah dost eyvallah peymana geldim.*
They exchanged greetings at the four gates of gold,	*Dörт kapı selamın verip aldılar*
	Pirin huzuruna çıkıp geldiler
Blowing in the presence of the pir, were bold	*El ele el hakka olsun dediler*
And said, Let's hand in hand on the Truth take hold,	*Henüz masum olup cihana geldim.*
An innocent one into the world came I.	
I stood firm on the ground amid the harsh fight,	*Yüzüm yerde özüm darda durmuşam*
	Muhammet Ali'ye ikrar vermişem
Made confession of Muhammet Ali's right	*Şakayın karnını (Sekahüm hamrini?)*
From the pit of misery on one dark night,	*anda görmüşem*
To be satiated with the drink came I.	*İçip kana kan mesdana (mestane)*
	geldim.
The juice the pounded peony was giving	*Şakayım şerbetin ezip içtiler*
Made drunk whom for love of Truth gave up living,	*Mest olup cümlesi serden geçtiler*
	Şah Hüseyin deyip hep ağlaştılar
Shouted, Shah Hüseyin, then to tears were driven,	*İçip ol şerbeti mesdana (mestane)*
	geldim.
To taste the ecstasy of that drink came I.	
Our path leads us to meet the twelve imams here.	*Yolumuz oniki imama çıkar*
	Mürşidim Ali'dir sahib-i zülfikar
Ali, lord of Zülfikar, is my rehber,	*Rehberim Muhammet Ahmedi muhtar*
Murshid Muhammet Ahmet chosen dear,	*Kuludur şahiye divana geldim.*
Drunken, servant of God to this place came I.	

After reciting this *nefes* the *rehber* puts bands around the waists of the *müsahips*. The watchman, holding the staff in his hand, stands at the head of the *post,* bare-footed and bare-headed, his waist bound, and his right big toe upon the left. He says to the two *müsahip* and sisters (wives of the *müsahip* if they are married), "Welcome, friends, to the initiation." The elder *müsahip* stands first, followed by the younger, then the sisters, then the lehina standing in line and waiting at the entrance. Then these four *müsahips* and sisters move from the entrance to the *post,* dragging themselves along the ground, saying, Help, and Generosity. After each of them makes entreaty by kissing and laying the face on the *post* three times, they stand on the *post* side by side with the right toe upon the left. Saying Huu, they bow down and put their hands on their knees. The *pir* delivers a *dua.* When the *dua* is finished they again make prostration on the *post* and then stand in a row with heads on the back of one another. The *pir* says the following admonition. "Where you bow is the door of Truth, where you stay is the house of Ali Mansur. May he give soul to your body and faith to your heart. He gave you ears to hear and eyes to see. O believer, will to speak, come in nakedness and speak truth. May the *erenler* perceive it. Huu. Let it be love. Raise your heads."

After this invocation those present one by one make prostration on the *post* and remain standing in a row. The elder *müsahip* at the head of the row recites without melody the following *nefes.*

My sin is great, gossip's butt,	*Günahım çok dildeyim,*
Yet I have surrendered that,	*Teslim eldum eldeyim,*
On the better way I've got,	*Ben yolunda yolcuyum,*
Allah, aye Allah, my pir (I accept).	*Allah eyvallah pirim.*
Let the offended arise,	*Gelsin küsmüş var ise,*
I accept accusing eyes	*Kem söz geçmiş var ise,*
Of those hurt in anywise,	*Bir incinmiş var ise,*
Allah, aye Allah, my pir.	*Allah, eyvallah pirim.*
Come too close to Truth to bear,	*Hak'ka yakın varacaığm,*
Grace and goodness everywhere,	*Hak cemalin göreceğim.*
I must give my answers there,	*Sorgu sual vereceğim,*
Allah, aye Allah, my pir.	*Allah eyvallah pirim.*
It is I Genç Abdal who	*Genç Abdalim biçare*
Submits to the gallows' due,	*Baş eğmiştir bu dara*
Save this sinner, Allah do,	*Medet kil günahkara*
Allah, aye Allah, my pir.	*Allah eyvallah pirim.*

After this *nefes* the *pir* asks, "Are these *pir, rehber,* four gates and forty degrees of esteem faithfully attending Friday gathering, receiving their due and rendering their obligations to the Truth?" In answer they say, Truth. Then he asks those present, who represent the community of forty, "Body in *dar* (place of execution, middle of the *meydan*), face to the ground, at the request of the *cem,* do these men of the community, these friends, in our presence in the *meydan* of Muhammet Ali, come to the house of Mansur today. What do you say about these friends?" He repeats this question three times. If anyone has a complaint or accusation to make, he or she informs the *pir* or community. If there is any argument between the people in the *dar* and anyone in the *tekke* this is resolved and reconciliation made. If anyone has a complaint or reconciliation is achieved then the *erens* say, May their work go well. The *pir* answers, If the *erens* are content, so is the *pir.* The friends in the *dar* make prostration one by one on the *post* and move away from it. Then the *pir* comes to the *post* and says, Friends whose sacrifice is performed, brother with brother and sister with sister, embrace one another. The *pir* then strokes their backs with his hand or staff. Then the *aşık* play on the *bağlama* and sing the following *nefes.*

The blood of Muslims made a sea.	*Müslüm'ün kanı göl oldu*
Let us each one for Muslims weep.	*Gelin ağlaşak Müslüm'e*
From each wound sprang a flowering tree.	*Yaraları gül gül oldu*
Let us each one for Muslims weep.	*Gelin ağlaşak Müslüm'e.*
Truth, there is no god but Allah, divine Lord Shah is Allah,	*Hak la ilaâhe illallah, ilahi şah illallah*
Let us call upon His name for help and say, Allah Allah.	*Analım Allah ismini diyelim Allah Allah.*

Come let us strip the lion's dress	*Gelin aslanı soyalım*
And in rose water him caress,	*Gül suyu ile yuyalım*
And tell Hüseyin our mournfulness.	*Varıp Hüseyin'e diyelim*
Let us each one for Muslims weep.	*Gelin ağlaşak Müslüm'e.*
Truth	*Hak . . . .*
The Muslim's wing is broken now,	*Müslüm'ün kanadı kırık*
His body full of wounds, and how	*Yaraları delik delik*
His blood comes down in streams to flow.	*Kanı akar eluk eluk*
Let us each one for Muslims weep.	*Gelin ağlaşak Müslüm'e*
Truth	*Hak . . . .*
Mervan's sword dealt blows to the pool	*Mervan suya kılıç çaldı*
And there his ruddy face turned pale,	*Sararıp gül benzi soldu*
His children orphans, house a spoil,	*Yavruları yetim kaldı*
Let us each one for Muslims weep.	*Gelin ağlaşak Müslüm'e.*
Truth	*Hak . . . .*

When the *aşık* finish this *nefes* and the *pir* his prayer, the initiates (*canlar*) on the *post* wake up as if from sleep, make prostration on the *post* and then to the *pir* and return. The watchman comes on the *post* and sits on knees and ankles and says, Come, friends, let us bring what is due to the *post.* Those present come one by one, make prostration on the *post* and leave whatever offering they have brought, and return to their places. The watchman says, May God give you blessed increase, and collects the offerings and gives them to the *rehber.* Then the following *nefes* is sung.

From there I came, from there I went,	*Işte geldim işte gittim*
Gone like a summer flower spent,	*Yaz çiçeği gibi bittim*
Gone are my works and what they meant,	*Şu dünyada ne iş ettim*
My life at last has passed away.	*Ömürcüğüm geçti gitti.*
The washers of my body win	*Işte geldi yuyucular*
The task of watering my skin.	*Tenime su koyucular,*
The hoja's hand both bare and thin	*Keferim elinde hoca*
Wrapped round my shroud and went away.	*Keferciğim biçti gitti.*
They called for the imam who showed	*Ça ğırdılar imam geldi*
To each his task, to each his load.	*Her biri bir işe geldi*
Azrail has struck down my abode,	*Azrail pençesin çaldı:*
Soul from her cage has flown away.	*Can kafesten uçtu gitti.*
They held me by my hands and let	*El ettiler elimizden*
Me down with ropes behind, and set	*İpattılar belimizden,*
Arms firmly held in place, and yet	*Pek tuttular kolumuzdan*
Soul from her cage has flown away.	*Can kafesten uçtu gitti.*
They put me down into my grave,	*El ettiler mezarıma*
They threw soil on my head, I gave	*Toprak attılar serime*
Up all my blood, the kind, the brave,	*Sığındım kânı kerime,*
My tears flowed out and ran away.	*Gözüm yaşı taştı gitti.*

The imam started out to read	*İmam talgın başladı*
Last rites for me, his last kind deed,	*Bir sevapak i işledi,*
The neighbors left me without heed,	*Komşular bizi boşladı*
They also turned and went away.	*Geri dönüp kaçtı gitti.*
An angel to my graveside came	*Kabrime bir melek geldi*
And asked his questions as in blame,	*Benden bir sualcık sordu,*
Struck sorely with his mace like flame,	*Hışmedip bir topuz vurdu*
My consciousness melted away.	*Tepdilciğim saştı gitti.*
Teslim Abdal secured his place,	*Teslim Abdal oldu tamam*
The end of time has won its race,	*Işte geldi ahir zaman,*
The twelve imams extend us grace,	*Yardimcimiz oniki imam*
Though skin to soil has passed away.	*Ten turaba düştü gitti.*

The Alevi people follow the sitting of the forties in fulfilment of the desires of Muhammet Ali. Once the forties were constituted by 23 *mümin* and 17 *muslim.* Therefore they chose three sisters from among those in the *tekke* to represent Fatma-tu Zehra, Hatice-i Kibriye and Şehriban. If pure sisters were not found, they chose three from among the *talips.* The watchman again stands in the *meydan* while the sisters make prostration three times from the entrance as they move toward and stand beside the watchman. Then the *pir* says, O *erens,* these sisters are going to represent Fatma tu Zehra, Hatice-i Kibriye, and Şehriban. What do you say about them? If everyone accepts these sisters as pure and honest people and believes that they are qualified, then the sisters start to whirl as the imam says the following *duaz.*

Fatma suffered separation,	*Fatmaana firgata düştü*
She opened the door of heaven,	*Uçmak kapısını açtı,*
Imam Hasan drank the poison,	*Imam Hasan zehir içti*
Struggle from God to him has come.	*Ona haktan gâza geldi.*
Imam Hüseyin's red blood flowed bright,	*Aktı Imam Hüseyin'in kanı*
Imam Zeynel convinced of right,	*İmam Zeynel mürvet kânı,*
The destined quill began to write	*Ana rahminde zûldani*
When Naki came pure from the womb.	*Naki kalem yaza geldi.*
No day of error has there been	*Bakıra meyil katalı*
Since we to Bakır were inclined,	*Çıkmaz dilimiz hatalı,*
And we have walked the path divine	*İmam Cafer'e yeteli*
Where Cafer-i Sadık led on.	*Yolarımız düze geldi.*
Kazim, Musa, Riza, Taki, I read my fate,	*Kazım, Musa, Rıza, Takiyi okudum*
Before its painful lash I wait,	*Nakinin darına durdum,*
And touch my flesh and bone with hate,	*Kendi özüme sitem sürdüm*
Until my body flees from dawn.	*Can cesedi naza geldi.*
I am not one to lose my hope	*Hasan Ali Askeriden*
In Hasan Askeri's abode,	*Ben umudumu kesmem ondan,*
Nor in lord Mehdi's age of gold:	*Mehtiyi sahip zamandan*
From Ali Murtaza they come.	*Aliyel Murtaza geldi.*

To the Beloved speaks Hasan sweet,	*Hasanım der, gare ne der*
He says, "My heart aches sore with grief,	*Yareliyem çarem ne der,*
With grief, sore grief, and what is meet?"	*Kanan gōçtū vara ne der*
Now is our turn since one is gone.	*Şimdi nōbet bize geldi.*

When these *duaz* have ended, the *aşık* all return to their former places and kneel in the prescribed manner. The *aşık* pray the following three *duaz.*

First duaz.

'Twas thou who ruledst from Kaf to Kaf, O lovely	*Ta ezeli kaftan kafa hūkmeden*
Ali, thou art the one, the only, Ali,	*Ali birsin, Ali birsin Ali bir,*
Whose seal on earth extends Muhammet's, comely	*Arzda Muhammedin hatemin yutan*
Ali, thou art the one, the only, Ali.	*Ali birsin, Ali birsin, Ali bir.*
And who besides Hasan and Hüseyin is great?	*Hasan Hüseyindir çekili gelen*
In difficulties flee to Zeynel's estate.	*Mūşgūlūn var ise Zeynele dolan,*
Thou took'st and gavest life in Nuseyri's fate,	*Nuseyri ōld'rüp hem diri kılan*
Ali, thou art the one, the only, Ali.	*Ali birsin, Ali birsin, Ali bir.*
From Muhammet Bakir to Cafer stretched the time,	*Bu Muhammet Bakır'dan Cafer'e yeter*
Thou sold'st thyself a market-slave clandestine,	*Kul olup kendini meydanda satan,*
And castedst out the gate of Hayber from its shrine,	*Hayber'in kapısını havaya atan*
Ali, thou art the one, the only, Ali.	*Ali birsin, Ali birsin, Ali bir.*
Thou wast reborn to be Musa-i Kazim too,	*Musa'yi Kazımsın doğup duransın*
Wast willing to do battle as masters do,	*Sen bir Rızasın, sahip kıransın,*
Strike down earth's usurpers, destroy and pursue,	*Kaldıruben dağa taşa vuransın*
Ali, thou art the one, the only, Ali.	*Ali birsin, Ali birsin, Ali bir.*
Muhammet Taki's work is wisdom's trace,	*Muhammet Takinin hikmettir işi*
Increases still Naki's flailing hand of fate,	*Aliyel Naki'nin artiyor coşu,*
Thou pluckedst the birds from the dragon's hiding-place,	*Ejderha karnından çıkarden kuşu*
Ali, thou art the one, the only, Ali.	*Ali birsin, Ali birsin, Ali bir.*
Hasan-ül Askeri weighs the people's sin,	*Hasan-ül Askeri günahlar tartar*
The bright reign of Muhammet Mehdi comes in	*Muhammet mehtinin dalgası artar,*
To catch the dragon, tear him like a linen,	*Çekip ejderhayı bez gibi yırtar*
Ali, thou art the one, the only, Ali.	*Ali birsin, Ali birsin, Ali bir.*
Thy humble slave Dervish Süleyman doth bow,	*Derviş Süleyman'in bağım ayılmaz*
With thoughts from the inexpressible to show,	*Leyli nahar destan etsem duyulmaz,*
In vain I speak such as this world cannot know,	*Şu dünyada birsin iki denilmez*
Ali, thou art the one, the only, Ali.	*Ali birsin, Ali birsin, Ali bir.*

Second duaz.

Each morn, each morn the birds sing anew their song,	*Her sabah, her sabah ötüşen kuşlar*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir Muhammet Ali diyerek,*
The nightingales after roses cry along,	*Bülbüller gül için figana başlar*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir Muhammet Ali diyerek.*
The bee looks up from making honey to say	*Kismetimiz kiblemizden buluna*
Our destiny is but the fate of one day,	*Arı da iniler kudret balına,*
Veysel Karani rode to Yemen this way,	*Veysel Karani gitti Yemen eline*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir, Muhammet Ali diyerek.*
Düldül, Fatma, Kamber thus began their prayer,	*Düldül, Fatma, Kamber durdu duaya*
With sorrow Jesus spoke these words, rose in air,	*İsa'da kahredip ağdı havaya,*
And Shehriban said to mount her camel there,	*Şehriban soyundu bindi deveye*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir Muhammet Ali diyerek.*
We truly hold the twelve imams with grieving,	*Biz çekeriz imamların yasını*
Acknowledge and accept them with believing,	*Gerçek işit oniki imam sesini,*
Imam Hasan drank from the poisoned cup, said,	*İmam Hasan içti ağı tasını*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir, Muhammet Ali diyerek.*
In a sieve the true believers sifted fine,	*Mümin olan ince elekten elendi*
New comers on the path of Truth brought in line,	*Talip olan hak yoluna talandı,*
And Shah Hüseyin in bright blood bathed and dyed,	*Şah Hüseyin al kanlara boyandı*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir, Muhammet Ali diyerek.*
Imam Zeynel was torn apart limb from limb,	*İmam Zeynel paralandı bölündü*
They asked Muhammet Bakır for no grace dim,	*Muhammet Bakıra niyaz kılındı,*
The honor of Cafer was this one great hymn,	*Caferi Sadığa erkan verildi*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir Muhammet Ali diyerek.*
Bird of the heart finds here no nest apart,	*Gönül kuşu bulamıyor yuvası*
The desire of fasting dawn falls on the heart,	*Gönülleri düştü sahur havası,*
Kazim, Musa, Ali, Riza's blessings start,	*Kazım, Musa, Ali, Rıza duası*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir Muhammet Ali diyerek.*
Taki and Askeri join in one bright flame,	*Taki, Naki, Askeri bir oldu gitti*
Hasan Askeri one spirit light became,	*Hasan-ül Askeri nur oldu gitti,*
The Mehdi hidden from the cave without blame,	*Mehti mağarada sır oldu gitti*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir Muhammet Ali diyerek.*
Four holy books to four holy faiths came down,	*Dört kitap yazıldı dört dine düştü*
Muhammet's faithful the clear Qur'an entone,	*Kuran Muhammedin virdine düştü*
Kul Hümmet by these words made Ali his own,	*Kul Hümmet Alinin derdine düştü*
Allah is One and one Muhammet Ali.	*Allah bir Muhammet Ali diyerek.*

Third duaz.

There is no help in all this world but in Thee,	*Bu cihanda derde derman sendedir*
Save us, Allah, O Muhammet, O Ali.	*Yetişş Allah, ya Muhammet, ya Ali,*
Believing Muslims sorrow most grievously,	*Mūmin mūslūm būtūn derdi gamdadır*
Save us, Allah, O Muhammet, O Ali.	*Yetiş Allah, ya Muhammet, ya Ali.*
The sun and moon are weeping there in the sky,	*Ağlar gökgüzünde hem mahi mihri*
With ecstasy the world was filled by and by,	*Feryat ile doldu iklimin dehri,*
Shah Imam Hasan was poisoned then to die,	*Şah imam Hasana verdiler zehri.*
Save us, Allah, O Muhammet, O Ali.	*Yetiş Allah, ya Muhammet, ya Ali.*
Then gathered were the supporters of Yezid,	*Yezitler bir araya geldiler*
Muhammet's seed surrounded by the wicked,	*Ehl-i Beyt'i ara yere aldılar,*
Shah Imam Hüseyin fell to the sword amid,	*Şah imam Hüseyine kılıç kıldılar*
Save us, Allah, O Muhammet, O Ali.	*Yetiş Allah, ya Muhammet, ya Ali.*
Imam Zeynel Abidin was attacked there,	*İmam Zeynel abidini bastılar*
The martyrs' heads were cut off, none to forbear,	*Şüheydanın başlarını kestiler, Götürdüler hem dımışga astılar*
And hung about Damascus' gates in mid-air,	*Yetiş Allah, ya Muhammet, ya Ali.*
Save us, Allah, O Muhammet, O Ali.	
They seized not the apostle of Allah's speech,	*Tutmadılar resulullah sōzūnū*
His daughter taken captive, bride out of reach,	*Esir etti gelinini kızını,*
All of Ali's house the face of truth must preach,	*Ali evlat hakka tuttu yūzūnū*
Save us, Allah, O Muhammet, O Ali.	*Yetiş Allah, ya Muhammet, ya Ali.*
For Imam Bakir's, and Imam Cafer's sake,	*İmam Bakır, İmam Cafer hakkı için,*
For Shah Musa's, and Kazim's and Riza's sake,	*Şah Musayı Kazım, Rıza için,*
For Imam Taki's also Shah Naki's sake,	*Şah Takinin, ah Nakinin hakk için*
Save us, Allah, O Muhammet, O Ali.	*Yetiş Allah, ya Muhammet, ya Ali.*
Askeri, Mehdi are guardians of time	*Askeri, Mehtidir ol sahip zaman*
Until the holy convocation sublime	*Gelince kurulur bir ulu divan,*
Call for the inspiration, now is the time,	*Çağır ey ilhamı zaman bu zaman*
Save us, Allah, O Muhammet, O Ali.	*Yetiş Allah, ya Muhammet, ya Ali.*

When the third *duaz* has ended, the *baci* request a piece of clay of Kerbala and stand up. The *aşık* represent the meeting of the forties. Then they read the following *mihracname.*

Then Gabriel the angel came	*Geldi Cebrail çağırdı*
And called Muhammet by name,	*Muhammet Mustafa dedi*
Allah lays on you His claim,	*Hak seni mihraca buyurdu*
Obey His invitation.	*Davete kadir hûda.*
This is my first command, abide	*Evvel emanet bu dedi*
In footsteps of the holy guide,	*Pir ile rahbet tut dedi*
From the right path turn not aside.	*Tarik mustakine yetti*
Confused was the prophet's station.	*Yetasın kadın erkena.*

He knew Allah, almighty, great,	*Muhammet müşgüle daldı*
And followed Gabriel to the gate.	*Hakkı anda azim bildi*
By the morning light, Allah said.	*Rehberle el ele oldu*
Muhammet left earth's vocation.	*Hak buyurdu vedduha.*
The angel took Muhammet's mind	*Muhammet belin bağladı*
And bound his waist, the stair they climbed	*Akıl Cebrail bağladı*
To dergah where dervishes find	*Iki bir eyledi*
Reality's salutation.	*Yürüdüler hem dergaha.*
Unto the gate of Dergah came,	*Dergah kapısına geldi*
Saw shining there a lion's mane,	*Bir arslanı yatar gördü,*
It growled, it moved and none could blame	*Haykuruben hamle kıldı*
Muhammet's great perturbation.	*Başa kaptı bir fına.*
The secret of the worlds replied,	*Sırrı kâinat buyurdu*
Fear not, Beloved, I'm at your side,	*Korkmasın habibim dedi,*
Make known your seal and do not hide	*Hatemi baç versin dedi*
Your famous name's acclamation.	*Nişan olsun arslana.*
Before the lion he placed his seal.	*Hatemi uğruna verdi*
At the sight it turned on its heel	*Arslan anda sakin oldu,*
At Muhammet's certain appeal,	*Muhammede yakin verdi*
The lion left the location.	*Arslan cekildi nihana.*
Into the presence of God went	*Vardı hakka tavaf kıldı*
The prophet, his first question meant	*Evvela bunu söyledi,*
What is divine wisdom's assent	*Ne hikmet sırrın var dedi*
That forced from me adoration?	*Hayli cebriyledi bana.*
He saw there the lonely dervish	*Bir biçare derviş gördü*
And secretly told him his wish,	*Hemen yalmağın diledi.*
I wish Ali were here with me,	*Ali benimle olaydı*
I wish his substantiation.	*Danaydı ol şaha.*
Oh my good fortune and success,	*Ey benim sırrı devletim*
It is my follower beloved,	*Oda sana tabidir habibim,*
In the place of God measureless	*Secdeye eğildi kalbim*
My heart bows down in prostration.	*Eşiği hak kiblegaha.*
He spoke ninety thousand commands,	*Doksanbin kelam demişti*
Two hearts bound as with iron bands,	*Iki gönül dost konuştu,*
Spoke Allah's unity first hand	*Tevhidi armağan saçtı*
To the world as a donation.	*Yeryüzündeki insana.*
Muhammet got up to his feet	*Ayağa kalktı Muhammet*
For his own people he would greet	*Ümetine diler ümmet,*
The judge in mercy and entreat	*Cümlesine olsun rahmet*
Forgiveness on his own nation.	*Onda dedi hem kibriye.*

In deep prostration he fell down
And said, "I bow before Thy crown."
Then took his leave to his own town
By the forties' habitation.

Eğiluben secde kaldı
Hoşça kal sultanık dedi,
Ayrılıp eve geldi
Yol uğradı kırklara.

He came into the forties' court,
Sat in silence where they consort.
They bowed before him in accord
Who stayed in God's adoration.

Kırklar makamına geldi
Oturuben sakin durdu,
Cumle kırklar secde kıldı
Hazreti emrullaha.

Muhammet in submission bore
His soul to God, and there before
Shah Hasan and Shah Hüseyin poured
Gabriel grapes in acclamation.

Muhammette sürdü yüzün
Hakka teslim etti özün,
Cebrail getirdi üzüm
Şah Hasanla hüseyin şaha.

Salmam also stood by and prayed
His master might come to his aid,
A piece of grape was given that made
His health's pure regeneration.

Salman orda hazır idi
Seydullahını diledi,
Bir üzüm danesi indi
Salmanın kes kürlahina.

From Allah came an outstretched hand,
Muhammet saw its seal expand,
The thing was great to understand,
He cried out in exaltation.

Kudretten bir el geldi
Muhammet hatemin gördü,
Ezdi engür eyledi
Uğradı bir müşgül hala.

The sherbit's sip, one sip alone,
And all caught up into the throne
Of some ecstatic love full-blown,
Muslims whirled in jubilation.

Ol şerbetten biri içti
Mümin müslüm aşka düştü,
Üryan büryün hep karıştı
Yürüdüler hep samaha.

Muhammet in the state of love
With the forties below, above,
Whirled to applauses and shouts of
Huu Allah, Allah's gyration.

Muhammetde aşka geldi
Kırklar ile çarheyledi,
Cümleside pençe çaldı
Dediler hü Allah Allah.

Love gained the victory at last,
The righteous way of doing cast,
The unity of God stood fast
At memory's exhilaration.

Muhabbetler galip oldu
Yol erkan yerini aldı,
Tevhid kararını buldu
Hatırları oldu safa.

Muhammet returned to his place.
Toward Allah Ali turned his face,
Before him set the seal of grace:
Murtaza, unique vocation.

Muhammet evine geldi
Ali hakkı tavaf kıldı
Mühürü önüme koydu
Setdeksin sen ya Murtaza.

Thou art beginning and the end,
Thou art the seen and unseen friend,
The lord of those who comprehend,
Imam and saint of high station.

Hem evelsin ahirsin
Hem batısın hem zahirsin
Talip rehser şahısın
Ya imam ehli evliya.

I am Shah Hata who writes of his belief,	*Şah Hatayim okuf oldum*
I found the saints beyond belief,	*Evliya hak sirrin buldum,*
The secrets of Allah in brief,	*Özümüz inandiramadim*
Secrets of divine summation.	*Ol çürüğün evrahina.*

At this point the *baci* make prostration and everyone begins to whirl. This sacred whirling is called the *semah.* Then the following *nefes* is recited.

Did you come down from the Kabe one by one?	*Kabe ellerinden sökin mi geldin*
Why did you cry out so happily, my crane?	*Ne yaman fırgatlı ötersin turnam*
Are you walking in lord Imam Ali's train?	*Imam Ali katarına uymuşsun*
Are you going to the forties' semah, crane?	*Kırkların semahın tutarsın turnam?*
Together with you, among you are the Threes,	*Üçlerde seninle biledir bile*
You've attained to the Sevens' ascendancies,	*Yediler de şöhretine naile*
You've gained the prophet Hızır's sympathies,	*Ol Hızır nebi de yoldaşın ola*
There's nothing can keep you from the goal, my crane.	*Görihi naciye yetersin turnam.*
When summer comes again and five moons are born,	*Yaz gelince beş ayları doğunca*
You rise before the throne of Allah adorned.	*Pervaz vurup arş yüzüne ağınca*
When the falcon chick touches your wings airborne,	*Yavru şahın tellerine değince*
O friend Ali, shall be your anthem's refrain.	*Ali dost dost diye ötersin durnam.*
Within your throat is dear chosen Ali's voice.	*Alinin avazı sende bulunur*
Sing not, my poor crane, let me not hear your voice	*Ötme garip durnam bağrım delinir*
To make me sad, now you came to show my choice	*Bildir ahvalini sen de gel imdi*
And that the sorrows of our hearts are but vain.	*Görüller gamını atarsın turnam.*
Of love Dervish Ali comes to tell a tale	*Derviş Alim aşkın hatmini düzer*
And sits writing his friend's letter without fail,	*Oturmiş dostunun mektubun yazar*
Complaint like Leyla and Mejnun's cry and wail,	*Leyla mecnun gibi ağlayıp gezer*
Give up life and attain Allah, my crane.	*Can ver ki conana yetesin turnam.*

When the *nefes* is finished the *baci do niyaz and sit down and perform zikr with hands on one another's shoulders, while the aşık recite a stanza of the nefes:*

Ali, Hasan, Huseyin, Zeynel, Bakir,	*Ali, Hasan, Hüseyin, Zeynel, Bakır,*
Kazim, Riza, Musa, my faith in heart and ear,	*Kazım, Rıza, Musa gönlümde haktır,*
Taki, Naki, Askeri, Mehdi thanks be	*Taki, Naki, Askeri, Mehtiye şükür*
The descendant of Abraham is Haydar.	*Ibrahim desdinin demanı haydar.*

After this is recited the *baci* again perform *niyaz* to the ground, while the second *semah,* similar to the first, is performed, the following *nefes* should be recited:

Returned to inspect the abandoned gallows,	*Devredip gezersin dari fariyi,*
So they say you arrived in Baghdad, my crane,	*Bağdat diyerina vardınımı durnam,*
In Madina Mecca's source Fatma follows,	*Medine şehrinde Fatma anayı,*
Did you see them in the city there, my crane?	*Mekani ondadir gördün mü durnam?*
Indeed we accepted you and your greatness,	*Biz de beli dedik bizden uluya,*
Took faith, confession made in appropriateness,	*İman aldık ikrar verdik veliye,*
To Imam Ali upon a crystal sea,	*Necef deryasında imam Ali'ye,*
Did you brush the surface of this sea, my crane?	*Bu deryaya yüzün sürdün mü durna?*
Arriving at Salman's in Medina's sway,	*Medine şehrinde Salmana varıp,*
Seeing Kazim's tomb in Baghdad on the way,	*Bağdat'da Kazımın kabrini görüp,*
Passing the threshold with your head turned to pray,	*Baş eğip eşiğine yüzün sürüp,*
Is your confession spent, my crane, O my crane?	*Ikrar bent olup durdun mu durnam?*
Let not the witness of Kerbela belie,	*Hürşehit'de Kerbela'da çürümez,*
There is no grant from Truth set forward to die,	*Haktan izin yoktur kalkıp yürümez,*
May the blood of Imam Hüseyin never dry,	*Imam Hüseyinin kanı kurumaz,*
Did you see the martyrs' sacrifice, my crane?	*Şehitler serdarın gördün mü durnam?*
Raise high holy Job's vessel and raise it higher.	*Hazreti Eyüb'ün mikaben kaldır.*
With two wolves in one body, wherefore desire?	*Tende iki kurt vardır neye maildir?*
The one is honey, the other silk like fire,	*Biri ipek sarar birisi baldır,*
Did you then attain their mystery, my crane?	*Bunların sırrına erdin mi durnam?*
Behlul came to make his dwelling on earth near,	*Behlül evcik yapor idi zeminde,*
And saw his abode in the heavens appear,	*Makamını gördü uçmak evinde,*
The holy ones' talisman is in their hands here,	*Tılsımı erenlerin cebinde,*
Did you stop in the Forties' gallows, my crane?	*Kırkların darında durdun mu durnam?*
In Yemen Veysel Karani traveled round	*Veysel Karani gezer idi Yemende*
In the twelve imams' way refreshed and renowned.	*Serin verdi oniki imam yolunda.*
Imam Mehdi in whatever time, what bound,	*Imam Mehdi hangi vakti zamanda,*
Shall he appear, did you inquire there, my crane?	*Nasıl zuhur eder sordın mu durnam?*
I'm Kul Hüseyin, in truth I shall arrive,	*Kul Hüseyinim der ki hakka varalım,*
Passing to the dergah by hundreds alive,	*Varıp dergahına yüzler sürelim,*
Sacrifice my head, to see my lord I strive,	*Can baş feda edip şahi görelim,*
Did you also see my lord there, O my crane?	*Sen de o sultanı gördün mü durnam?*

This time again the *baci* perform *niyaz* and then sit on their knees and ankles. Once again the *aşık* recite the same verse of the *duaz* while the *baci* perform *zikr*.

Ali, Hasan, Hüseyin, Zeynel, Bakir,	*Ali, Hasan, Hüseyin, Zeynel, Bakır*
Cafer, Riza, Kazim, Musa are truth dear,	*Cafer, Rıza, Kazım, Musa gönlümde haktır,*
Taki, Naki, Askeri, Mehdi thanks be	*Taki, Naki, Askeri, Mehdiye şükür,*
The descendant of Abraham is Haydar.	*İbrahim desdinin demahi haydar.*

The *bacı* again perform *niyaz,* then the three walk about the whole room while the *bacı* on the left performs *niyaz* to the ground at each corner saying the following *duaz* during the *nefes* of the *aşık.*

Of the transgression we have done day or night	*Gece gündüz hata işlediğimiz işe*
We do repent and flee unto Allah's grace,	*Tövbe günahlara estağfurullah,*
To Muhammet Ali is our path of right,	*Muhammet aliye bağlıdır başımız*
We do repent and flee unto Allah's grace.	*Tövbe günahlara estağfurullah.*
If Hasan Hüseyin are light in divine light,	*Hasan hüseyin nur içinde nur ise*
If Zeynel Abidin's secret mystery's right,	*Zeynel Abidin sır içcinde sır ise,*
We have to release the selfishness of "I".	*Eğer özümüzde benlik var ise*
We do repent and flee unto Allah's grace.	*Tövbe günahlara estahfurullah.*
If we stray out of Muhammet Bakir's way,	*Muhammet Bakırın izinden çıkmak*
Cafer will give what earn those who go astray,	*Yükümüz Cafer'den tutarık ahmak,*
Is it seeming to you to hurt hearts this way?	*Sana layıkmıdır hatırlar yıkmak*
We do repent and flee unto Allah's grace.	*Tövbe günahlara estahfurullah.*
From Musa-i Kazim to Imam Riza go	*Musa-i Kazım'dan İmam Rıza'ya*
Taki and Naki our useless efforts show,	*Taki Naki emeklerimizi vermiye zaya,*
For day and night our evil habits still grow.	*Gece gündüz islediğimiz bat huya*
We do repent and flee unto Allah's grace.	*Tövbe günahlara estahfurullah.*
Hasan-ul Askeri's roses ever grow	*Hasan-ül Askerinin gülleri bite*
And Mehdi will come and make the sorrows go	*Mehti gele gönlümüzün gamını ata,*
That from our daily denunciations grow.	*Hergün etti imiz kov'a giybete*
We do repent and flee unto Allah's grace.	*Tövbe günahlara estahfurullah.*
I'm Derviş Süleyman of Baghdad, Basra,	*Derviş Süleyman'ım Bağdat Basra*
Look at that empty cauldron, epoch's decline,	*Bak şu kem kazanca bak şu asıra,*
Surrender yourself up to blessings divine.	*Elaman mürüvet kalma kusura*
We do repent and flee unto Allah's grace.	*Tövbe günahlara estahfurulla.*

After the *duaz* the *bacı* perform *niyaz* and begin the *semah.* The *aşık* begin the following *şahlama.*

My longing is for Kerbela day and night.	*Gece gündüz arzumanım Kerbalâ*
Let us flee to the love of the twelve Imams.	*Gelin varak oniki imam aşkına,*
Apart from these I have nothing to delight.	*Serden gayri sermayem yok elimde*
Let's surrender ourselves to the twelve Imams.	*Gelin verek oniki imam aşkına.*
The nightingales offer their sorrow in song,	*Dertli öter şaharın bülbülleri*
To believers in Truth the ballads belong,	*Mani söyler hak ehlinin kulları,*
Roses of Erdebil too soon came along,	*Er açılmış erdelilin gülleri*
Let's gather the roses for the twelve Imams.	*Gelin derek oniki imam aşkına.*
Under the palace flow the waters and foam,	*Sarayın altından akuyor aklar*
The sounds of the lutes turn our fate back toward home,	*Çalınır sazlar dönüyor çarklar,*
	Kırklar bir üzümü kırk bölen kırklar
Into forty a grape like sweet honeycomb,	*Gelin bölek oniki imam aşkına.*
Let us divide the grape for the twelve Imams.	

One of the forties kicked loudly at the door,	*Kapıyı depti kırkların birisi*
One of the forties made an heir to restore,	*Birisinden hasil oldu varisi,*
Sari Kaya's fair, the king's pride evermore.	*Sarı Kaya güzel şahın kormsu*
Let's go down to the love of the twelve Imams.	*Gelin konah oniki imam aşkına.*
The seeker must carry his leader along	*Talip rehberi sırtında götör*
To strengthen the weak ones and to right the wrong,	*Tamam eyle noksanımız sen yetir,*
Riza decks the meydan with sweetmeat and song,	*Rıza lokmasını meydana getir*
Let's go feast on the love of the twelve imams.	*Gelin yiyek oniki imam aşkına.*
I'm Shah Hata, indeed I've acceptation,	*Şah Hatayım eydir ha beli beli*
Allah Muhammet Ali's invitation	*Çağrişalmı Allah Muhammet Ali*
Inspires us all to every sin's confession,	*Cumleniz de bir ikrarın da gulu*
Let's come stay in the love of the twelve imams.	*Gelin durak oniki imam aşkına.*

When the *aşık* have finished, all return to their former places and sit down. The *aşık* sing a *gazel* to end the *cem.* They can sing whatever *gazel* they like.

After the *gazel* is sung, the people repeat in unison the following.

By the scriptures of Kerbela,	*Kerbelanın yazıları*
The Beloved have died martyrs there,	*Şehit olmuş kuzuları*
Mother Fatma's children's despair,	*Fatma Ana'nın nazıları*
Ah Hüseyin, O Hüseyin, clear-eyed Hüseyin.	*Ah Hüseyin, vah Hüseyin elâ gözlü şah Hüseyin.*
The deed, the deed, the deed, grant peace on the spirit of Muhammet Mustafa,	*Failatün, failatün, failat ver Muhammet Mustafa'nın ruhuna ver selavat,*
God grant upon the posterity of Muhammet.	*Allahümme selli âlâ seyyidine Muhammet.*

Then sura Fatiha is read and with this the meeting is over. Everyone prays for the souls of those who have served them during the meeting. The watchman adds meat to the rice to make *pilav.* After the meal everyone goes home. On the way home they say, "To those who lay down and sat down I wish days without gossip, may Ali help them, may Hızır be their guide." (*Yatanaş oturana lovsuz ve giybetsiz günler, evine gidnin Ali yardemcısı olsun Hızır kılavuzu olsun.*)

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J. PETER SÖDERGARD

The Ritualized Bodies of Cybele's Galli and the Methodological Problem of the Plurality of Explanations

Quae sunt sacrilegia, si illa sunt sacra?
aut quae inquinatio, si illa lavatio?[1]
(Aug. De Civ. Dei II.4).

In our studies in the history of religions we are sometimes confronted by events and phenomena that seem to crave for an explanation, and, if the phenomenon does not conform with our world-view,[2] or the prima facie interpretation does not seem plausible, the more urgently we feel the need for some sort of understanding. This is, I think, especially the case with what we, from our horizon of understanding, deem to be abnormal human behaviour.

The Christian polemicist Prudentius, 348 – c. 410, writes about the Dendrophoria festival of Cybele and the transition ritual of her cultic servants, the Galli:

> There are rites in which you mutilate yourself and maim your bodies to make an offering of the pain. A worshipper possessed thrusts the knife into his arms and cuts them to propitiate the Mother goddess. Frenzy and wild whirling are thought to be the rule of her mysteries. The hand that spares the cutting is held to be undutiful, and it is the barbarity of the wound that earns heaven. Another makes the sacrifice of his genitals; appeasing the goddess by mutilating his loins, he unmans himself and offers her a shameful gift; the source of the man's seed is torn away to give her food and increase through the flow of blood. Both sexes are displeasing to her holiness, so she keeps a middle gender between the two, ceasing to be a man without becoming a woman. (Prudentius, Perist. 1059–1073)

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[1] "What are profane, if these are sacred rites? Or what is pollution, if these is ablution?"

[2] Those fundamental cognitive orientations by which men order their lives (Spiro 1987: 18).

The explanandum in this article is the self-castration of Cybele's Galli.[3] The explanans is the various theories that have been put forward to elucidate this phenomenon. I will begin by sketching out the complicated religio-historical scene for this ritual, then introduce the plurality of theories concerning Galli's ritual self-castration, so that the intellectual dilemma of evaluation and preference is obvious; which one of the theories is decisive? Are they necessary or sufficient? Do they compete or cooperate?

The aim of this article is also to make a critical methodological evaluation of the use of psychological determinants in religio-historical studies of the self-castration of the Galli in the cult of Cybele and Attis. My study will, accordingly, deal with the epistemological status of historically used psychological methods and their entanglement with the complex question of historical explanation.

1. The Religio-Historical Scene: the Drama and the Many Scripts

It is my opinion that we should study the ritual behaviour of the Galli from a dramaturgical standpoint, that is by using perspectives which emphasize the sociological functions of their religious performance of culturally prescribed roles, a reconstruction of the script, i.e. those mythological narratives that are used by the adherents in their religiously intrinsic understanding etc. (Harré and Secord 1972: 205–225; Spiro 1987: 109–144).

1.1. The Narration of Lucianus in De Dea Syria

Lucianus[4] delineates in De Dea Syria a vivid description of the cultic scene at Atargatis' sanctuary in the Syrian city Hierapolis:

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[3] The modern study of the Galli was inaugurated in the history of religions by Hugo Hepding (1903) and H. Graillot (1912), both of them including collections of literary sources and relevant epigraphic material, then available. For an overview of recent studies, see Vermaseren 1966, Vermaseren 1977, Sanders 1972; Thomas 1984. See also Widengren 1953 concerning ritual emasculation of enemies during war in the ancient Middle East.

[4] The authenticity of the author, Lucian of Samosata?, is under dispute, see Bilde 1990: 162–166. "Lucian" is used in the article without the intention of making any commitment in this complicated question.

On appointed days, the crowd assembles at the sanctuary while many Galli and the holy men whom I have mentioned perform the rites. They cut their arms and beat one another on the back. Many stand about them playing flutes, while many others beat drums. Still others sing inspired and sacred songs. This ceremony takes place outside the temple and none of those who perform it enters the temple. On these days too, men become Galli. For while the rest are playing flutes and performing the rites, frenzy comes upon many, and many who have come simply to watch subsequently perform this act. I will describe what they do. The youth for whom these things lie in store throws off his clothes, rushes to the center with a great shout and takes up a sword, which, I believe has stood there for this purpose for many years. He grabs it and immediately castrates himself. Then he rushes through the city holding in his hands the parts he has cut off. He takes female clothing and women's adornment from whatever house he throws these parts into. This is what they do at the Castration. (Lucianus, De Dea Syria 50–51)

Lucianus gives two aitiological traditions to explain this religious ritual. The first one, which we can call the Attis' tradition, relates how the sanctuary at Hierapolis is the creation of the Lydian Attis, who taught the rites concerning Rhea to the Phrygians, Lydians and inhabitants of Samothrace and was castrated by her. Afterwards he took on a feminine form, including female clothing and went out to every land to perform the rites and to tell about his sufferings. In due time he came to Syria and laid the foundation of the sanctuary (Lucianus, De Dea Syria 15). Lucianus then compares the similarities between the Hieropolitanian goddess Atargatis — whom he constantly calls Hera as an interpretatio graeca — and the way the Lydians depict Rhea, i.e. Magna Mater, and he concludes pertaining to this tradition of Attis: "The wise man also said about the Galli who are in the temple, that Galli never castrate themselves for Hera, but they do for Rhea and they also imitate Attis (Ἄττεα μιμέονται)".

The second tradition (Lucianus, De Dea Syria 19–27), which we can call the Combabus' tradition, narrates how the Assyrian king assigned one of his favorite heroes, the handsome Combabus, to escort his royal consort Stratonice to Hierapolis, because she had been told by Hera in a dream to build a temple there. To avoid compromising himself with the beautiful queen he castrated himself before the departure to Hierapolis and entrusted his virilia to the Assyrian king in a sealed vessel. Stratonice fell in love with Combabus and in spite of his telling her of the great sacrifice she passed all the time with him. The rumour reached the king and he summoned Combabus and condemned him to death. But by breaking the seal on the vessel and by showing the virilia to the king he was declared innocent and bestowed with great honours. The King said

to him: *"You will also have access to us without any to announce you, nor will anyone bar you from our sight, not even if I am in bed with my wife."* Lucianus then relates that Combabus' dearest friends emasculated themselves as a consolation for his sufferings and followed his life style, or that Hera, out of love for him, imparted the idea of castration on others so Combabus might not grieve alone. The wearing of female dress is explained by the fact that during a festival a foreign woman had fallen in love with the emasculated Combabus, then still wearing men's clothing, but to avoid this in the future he changed to female clothing.

E. Benveniste has suggested that this tradition about Combabus is a widespread legendary story, with roots in the Persian court romance, which Lucianus has used in order to explain a local rite (Benveniste 1938–39: 249–258).

Despite the fact that Lucianus declares that the reason for the self-castration of the Galli is the story of Combabus, which according to him is much more believable than the Attis' tradition, I would prefer to see this legendary story as a secondary elaboration, and as Benveniste has pointed out with a genesis in the Persian court tradition. The Combabus' tradition could be an originally aitiological explanation of the Assyrian system of eunuchs as chamberlains — notice that Combabus always should have free passage to the king — and as generals, governors (see Gray 1912; Browe 1936), which later on have been adopted to fit in with the cult at Hierapolis. We can also note that the explanation of the female clothing in the Combabus' tradition as a mean of averting the interest of women is contradicted by Lucianus himself when he narrates that the love between Stratonice and Combabus still exists in Hierapolis. *"Women desire the Galli and the Galli go mad for a woman. Yet, no one is jealous, for they consider the matter quite holy"* (Lucianus, De Dea Syria 22).

It seems to me that many mythological, literary and "folk-loristic" traditions are coming to a sort of crossroad in the De Dea Syria, and by incidents lucidly describing the situation of the hellenistic *Religionsmengerei*. We have a description of the ritual of selfemasculation that in some way seems to be connected with the Phrygian myths of Attis. We shall now therefore turn to this mythological legacy with its focal point in Pessinus in Phrygia — the Metropolis for the cult of Magna Mater.

1.2. The Phrygian Mythographical Tradition According to Pausanias and Arnobius

The myth accompanying the self-castration of Cybele's Galli is in this case of course the tragic story of Attis, in the Phrygian versions.[5] Pausanias (VII, 17, 10–12) reports that a hermaphroditic monster, Agdistis, was born when Zeus fecundated the soil in his sleep. The Gods feared him and cut off the daemonic creature's male organs, out of which there sprung up an almond tree with ripe fruits. The daughter of the river Sangarios put some of the fruits in a fold of her dress and so became pregnant with Attis. Grown up, Attis was celebrating his marriage with the daughter of the king of Pessinus, when Agdistis, who had fallen in love with him, entered during the wedding song. At the sight of Agdistis Attis went mad and chopped off his private parts, and the king did the same. Agdistis regretted what he had done and made Zeus grant that Attis' body should never corrupt or wither in the least degree.

The Phrygian version of the myth is found in a more elaborated form in the Christian polemicist Arnobius' work Adversus nationes (V, 5–7). In this mythographical compilation — here not commenting on other additions[6] — Attis mutilated himself under a pine tree and bled to death. He was loved both by Acdestis[7], who infused fury and madness, and by the Mother of the Gods. Violets sprung forth from his blood and entwined the tree. The mother of the Gods took the pine to her cave and there Acdestis also joined in the lamentations. Arnobius continues:

> Jupiter refuses Acdestis' request that Attis might come back to life. But what is possible by concession of fate, this he grants without objecting: that his body should not decay, that his hair should ever grow, that the very smallest of his fingers should live and alone react by continued motion. Satisfied with these favors, Acdestis, it is said, consecrated the body in Pessinus, and honoured it with annual rites and with a sacred ministry.[8]

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[5] Concerning the Lydian tradition which relates how Attis was mutilated by a wild boar and bled to death (Pausanias VII, 17, 5 ff.) or accidently pierced by Adrastus' lance while hunting wild boar (Herodotos I, 34–35), see Hepding 1903: 98–102; Vermaseren 1966: 2–3; Vermaseren 1977: 88–92.

[6] For a detailed comparison between Pausanias' and Arnobius' versions of the Phrygian myth, see Hepding 1903: 103–110.

[7] The variant orthography found in Arnobius of Sicca 1949: 569 note 29.

[8] See Podeman Sørensen 1989: 23–29 for an analysis of the binary oppositions in the Arnobian version of the myth.

2. The Interpretations of Galli's Self-castration

The implicit question which has haunted us since we first confronted the phenomenon of Galli's self-castration is explicitly put by Britt-Mari Näsström (1989: 70):

> Why did Attis and his priests castrate themselves? Why did they commit this act in a cult of a mother and fertility goddess, where a ἱερὸς γάμος would illustrate the appropriate symbol of prosperity and reproduction?

As early as 1923 Arhur Darby Nock collected a list of answers and added his own proposal 'on top of them'. Walter Burkert did likewise in 1979 and recently Britt-Mari Näsström. In the following I shall outline the various interpretations given and try to evaluate and categorize them. But I will begin by studying the epistemological and pragmatical status of the question in focus.

The question "Why did Attis and his priests[9] castrate themselves?" is, according to my view, too open-ended and unclear, and it belongs to the context of discovery, not to the analytical questioning of the material. If we consult David Hackett Fischer's inventory of historian's fallacies, we clearly see that it could be called a case of "the fallacy of many questions". Hackett Fischer's first criterion is that a common form of error is the framing of a question in such a way that two or more questions are asked at once and a single answer is required (Hackett Fischer 1970: 8). We cannot, to my mind, equate the reasons for Attis' own castration on the mythological level, with other various reasons that could have motivated the Galli, without mixing together mythological thinking and in principle describable historical personal motives that, in their turn, could be based on psychological, sociological and other factors.

Another criterion concerning the "the fallacy of many questions" is framing a question which makes a false presumption (Hackett Fischer 1970: 8), a criterion that might be applicable to Näsström' hypothesis about the suitability of a hieros gamos instead of the actual castration. We can only begin by looking at the actual situation in the mythological evidence; we have the love and jealousy of Agdistis towards Attis

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[9] According to Garth Thomas the Galli were not priests, because of the mode of initiation, but they could be named by the vague term "clergy" and he continues by remarking that the confusion is not new, Pliny (N. H. 35, 165) calls them *sacerdotes*. A more suitable phenomenological category could be "cultic personnel", a vague enough term that does not have Christian connotations.

followed by Attis' furious self-castration. We cannot confront this with a hypothetical and imagined hieros gamos.

Hackett Fischer is furthermore in general very skeptical about "why" questions, because these tend to become metaphysical questions, "why was the war inevitable?", and they are also imprecise, for the adverb "why" is difficult to define. It can refer to a cause, a motive, a reason, a description, a process and many other things. Hackett Fischer even goes so far as to propose that this *"favorite adverb of historians should be consigned to the semantical rubbish heap"* (Hackett Fischer 1970: 14–15). I cannot accept this proposition, because we are using "why" questions not in a coherent way in the historiographical process, be it in the history of religions or political history, but in a hermeneutically understandable way if we try to be more precise about what kinds of "why" questions we are searching to answer. It is my opinion that by categorizing the hypotheses that have been put forward, we will be able to see what sort of "why" question they have, in an implicit way, answered. This will in turn make it possible to make a coherent, overall evaluation of the various solutions that have been attempted.

2.1. Frazer's Instrumental Interpretations of Self-castration as a Means to Regenerate the Vegetational Cycle

Frazer's disputed interpretative paradigm with dying and rising vegetation deities may, concerning Attis, be recapitulated in the following way. Attis' seasonal and cyclical being is manifested in the annual Dendrophoria with his birth and growth, death and fading in analogy to the vegetation cycle.

According to Frazer's view the Galli castrated themselves in order to fecundate Mother Earth, so that Attis and the vegetation could be reborn. Frazer's interpretation is based on two premises. The first is that the Galli personified the Goddess' mystical lover Attis, what could be called *imitatio Attidis,* so that the Goddess, through them, could receive lifegiving energy and transmit it to the world. The second is the custom of deposing the castrated organs in the earth or in subterranean chambers sacred to Cybele. From this Frazer conjectures that they may have had an instrumental purpose in recalling Attis to life and giving help to the seasonal regeneration and growth (Frazer 1914: 263–280).

This synthesizing interpretative paradigm of dying and rising vegetation deities, planted by Wilhelm Mannhardt and tenderly cultivated by Frazer has been severely pruned by recent scholarship (see e.g. Gurney 1962). Concerning Attis this has especially been the case with his resurrection,

i.e. the celebration at Hilaria. The textual evidence is here, according to Frazer, Firmicus Maternus (De errore 22) which, however, Jørgen Podeman Sørensen has convincingly shown to be related to Osiris and not to Attis (Podeman Sørensen 1989: 73–86). Against this negative evidence can be put the term Hilaria, allegorical readings from late Antiquity and Damascius' description in his biography of his teacher Isidorus (Frazer 1914: 272–274).

I think it could be wise in this context to keep apart three questions. Firstly the relevance of Frazer's interpretative paradigm *in toto,* that is including Adonis, Attis and Osiris as dying and rising vegetation deities. This grandiose network of branches can now be regarded as discarded into the fire. Secondly Attis is interpreted in late antique sources as the harvested corn — the castration; the collecting of the seed in underground chambers — the death of Attis; when the sown seed sprouts in the spring — The regeneration of Attis, *"vitam rursus"* Firmicus Maternus (3.2). Thirdly Frazer's *interpretatio christiana* of Attis cyclical and vegetative regeneration, which makes it analogous to Christ's bodily resurrection.

The difference between these two "resurrections" can be shown if we take a look at the ending of the Arnobian version of the Phrygian myth (Adversus nationes V. 7, 123 ff. in Hepding 1903: 40–41). Attis' post mortem being, with a continuing growth of the hair and a little finger ever in motion, seems to denotate a vegetative metaphoric context. Hair, *"coma",* could be associated with grass and sprigs. Finger, *"digitus",* can denotate a little sprig. We should place these conjectures in the context of one of the names of the Galli — *Digiti Idaei.* These "fingers of Mount Ida" are also found in the Greek form *Idaei dactyli* in Arnobius (Adversus nationes III.41).

In the symbolic universe of Arnobius we find a complicated web of vegetative imaginations. Attis, the harvested corn and the evergreen pine, is associated in his latency of death, that is in his surviving in death, with growing and sprouting vegetation. This is manifested by the smallest bodily sign, a constantly moving little finger, maybe alluding to the membrum virile and in that case particularly important in the castration context.

The ritual of the Galli's self-castration is explained by its belonging to the paradigm of dying and rising vegetation deities according to Frazer. This is an explanation by definition. The self-emasculation is viewed as "instrumental in recalling Attis to life and hastening the general resurrection of nature" (Frazer 1914: 269). It also enables a person to become a Gallus (Frazer 1914: 265). So we have two functional explanations, the

earlier instrumental, or intentional if seen from a Gallus' point of view, but both of them from within the religious framework. The latter is more of a socio-functional type, giving an individual entry to the group of the Galli.

2.2. A. B. Cook: to Increase the Fertility of Mother Earth

Cook agrees with Frazer's interpretation which, however, is based mainly on the Phrygian myth. Cook, instead, wants to focus on the myths of Zeus Sabazios. Clemens of Alexandria (Protr., II, 13–16) relates how Zeus, metamorphised as a bull, made love with his mother Demeter, this enraged her and she could only be entreated by a fraudery. Zeus tore off the testicles of a ram, and flung them into Demeter's lap, thus paying a sham penalty for his lovemaking by pretending that he had castrated himself. Cook interprets this episode as an aitiological myth, indirectly showing that the actors in the cult of Zeus Sabasios offered their *virilia,* or failing that, the genitals of a ram. Cook then argues that the worshippers sought to increase the fertilising powers of their Goddess by giving her their own fertility (Cook 1914: 390–396).[10]

Cook's hypothesis, in accordance with Frazer, but based on the Zeus Sabazios myth, is a functional explanation. Seen from a Gallus' point of view it can be regarded as intentional.

2.3. L. R. Farnell: Assimilation to Cybele

Farnell suggests that in the ecstatic and emotional festival a Gallus in various ways sought communion with the Goddess. He could be called, according to Photius, κύβηβος, and changed his dress after the castration to female clothing. The ritual of self-mutilation may have arisen from ecstatic necessity to assimilate oneself to the Goddess and by this charge oneself with her power (Farnell 1907: 300–302).

Farnell's hypothesis is a functional explanation that enables an individual to assimilate to the Goddess.

2.4. A. D. Nock: a Means to Guarantee Permanent Cultic Purity

Nock discusses Cook's and Farnell's interpretations, he accepts the earlier and repudiates the latter, but proposes another explanation of the custom,

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[10] See also Vermaseren 1977: 105 concerning this mythological tradition and the Taurobolium.

which, as he remarks, was anticipated but not developed by Hepding (1903: 162). Nock starts from the fact that many sacred functions could only be performed by those qualified by permanent or temporal continence. Nock then argues that the self-castration brought about a permanent cultic purity, in order that a Gallus may be perfectly fitted to serve the Goddess throughout his whole life. He is *castus* after the castration (Isidore, Orig. X, 33); ἁγνός (Anth. Pal. VI, 220, 3). Nock then argues that the eunuchs could be compared to the virgin and the child in various cults demanding cultic purity and points to Eugen Fehrle's investigation (Fehrle 1910) into how the pure maiden and child promoted fertility in the fields and in marriage. Nock emphasizes that the requirement of chastity was based on the abstaining from polluting sexual intercourse, by analogy abstention from special kinds of food and drink etc., not from a positive value of the abstention (Nock 1972: 27–33).

2.5. Walter Burkert: a Socio-functional Hypothesis of the Survival Value of Self-castration

Walter Burkert wages war against the earlier interpretations and declares that "modern explanation in terms of 'belief' are guesswork" with references to Cook — and then indirectly to Frazer — and also to Farnell and Nock. Burkert wants instead to put forward a sociological explanation. The cultic self-castration, following an established pattern, but performed in a state of mind when the man could not give reasons for his behaviour, is an act that made the initiand take leave of ordinary society. Apostasy is impossible and he is irrevocably an adherent to his goddess. Burkert also concludes that because he is neither male nor female, his life could be spared in periods of wars, when a conqueror killed all the adult men and abducted the women, leaving the eunuch, as is shown in Euripides Orestes (1527 f.), where a eunuch is saved for this reason.

Burkert also conjectures that the sanctuaries presided over by eunuchs could have been the only social organizations that survived the really dark ages in Anatolia before the Persian rule. This may explain why, in the "holy city" of Hierapolis or Metropolis, we find the Anatolian Goddess (Burkert 1979: 105).

It is my opinion that Burkert's socio-functional hypothesis is guesswork of a higher degree than those of his aforementioned collegues. His evidence for the survival value of eunuchism during the dark ages in Anatolia, a literary passage in Euripides, seems rather strained and of ad hoc character. Moreover, I cannot see why a Gallus should not be able to

give reasons for his behaviour. Is Burkert hinting at a psychodynamic understanding? Another reading of Burkert could be that he is carrying on a sociological hermeneutic of suspicion that exposes what he deems to be the real function of the ritual, its survival value. But to my mind this is to postulate, on scanty evidence, an extreme, and I must add, incredible, functionalism.

It may be of more interest to note that Burkert delineates a diffusion of traditions from the Semitic Tammuz and Sumerian Dumuzi and the latter's role in the myth of Inannna's descent to the Underworld. Especially the wedding passage in the Phrygian myth, when Agdistis interrupts the wedding and drives Attis crazy, is compared by Burkert with Inanna's ascension from the Underworld in the company of the Gallu demons. She lets the Gallu demons seize Dumuzi and bring him to the Netherworld, because she finds that her husband has not lamented her, even though she was imprisoned in the Underworld. Burkert conjectures that these Gallu demons could in some way be connected with the Galli of Cybele (Burkert 1979: 110–111).[11]

This conjectural hypothesis, could be placed alongside yet another element from the assumed Mesopotamian tradition. In order that the imprisoned Inanna would be able to ascend from the Underworld, father Enki, the god of wisdom, cut dirt from under his fingernails and from it made a *kurgarra* and a *galatur,* creatures neither male nor female, that sprinkled the water of life and gave Inanna the bread of life so she could ascend (Wolkstein and Kramer 1984: 64–67). It is also tempting to compare this mythologem with the names *Digiti Idaei* and *Idaei dactyli* of the Galli (see part 2.1).

2.6. Näsström's Functionalistic Interpretation of the Galli as Liminal Personae

According to Näsström, we find the clue to the explanation of the inner life of Attis, as portrayed in Catullus' famous poem about him (LXIII), and then also of the castration of the Galli, in the indefinite and vague position of the main character embodying the liminal phase in a "Rite de Passage". Näsström (1989: 92) writes that;

> the castration of the Attispriests was not depending on frenzy sent by the divine out of the blue, but on a human conception to establish a position at the limit

[11] It is impossible from considerations of space to discuss this very complicated diffusion of traditions in detail. See Burkert 1979: 99–122 with bibliographies.

of the divine and the mortal above the conditions of mankind. The way to salvation for those was the utter abhorrence of love.

Näsström based her fruitful interpretation on van Gennep's classification of "Rites de Passage", especially the liminal phase, which have been modified by Victor Turner to include what he calls *liminal personae,* i.e. those upholding a more or less permanent liminality (Turner 1969). Näsström used this extension of the liminal to account for the fact that the "Attis priests" in their abhorrence of love castrated themselves; by this act they are also irreversibly set outside ordinary human nature. They are established, according to Näsström's interpretation, as transcendental existences, neither gods nor men, but intermediaries like Attis between the human world, characterised by *Eros* and *Thanatos,* and the other world, wherein we meet immortality and procreation of a non human kind. The Galli repudiate human love and procreation and have thus attained a position beyond death. They are *"betwixt and between",* to use the language of the late Victor Turner (Näsström 1989: 78–84).

In my opinion Näsström's structuralistic interpretation is a good example of how we can use modern interpretative tools on religious material from Graeco-Roman Antiquity. Reading Näsström enables us to get a sort of existential understanding of what a Gallus could have thought about his intermediary position between this world and the realm of the Gods.[12] But if we take a closer look at Turner's category of liminal personae, it becomes more puzzling, because it tends to include all human beings that professionally, and more or less permanently, deal with the divine, i.e. stand at the threshold between the sacred and the profane. All of these can also be seen to have an intermediary role by their association with the sacred. It seems that Näsström has acknowledged this dilemma, for she writes (Näsström 1989: 80):

There must have been specific motivations for this ritual performance which implicated a mediating position, but these incitements where hidden for the contemporary authors as well as it is hidden for modern research.

The ritual act is deemed to be too devastating only to be explained by the receiving of an intermediary threshold position in analogy to Attis' own mythological role (Näsström 1989: 80).

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[12] Compare Weigert-Vowinkel's interpretation "The believer who experiences his own subservience to the sexual instincts, demands that the priest, the intermediary between God and man, live independent of instinctual life, as an example for him" (Weigert-Vowinkel 1938: 374).

2.7. Weigert-Vowinkel: a Psychological Interpretation of Self-castration as a Regressive Solution of the Oedipus Complex

The placing together of religion, sexuality and self-aggression that we associate with psychotic behaviour connotates for many the interpretations given by Sigmund Freud. According to him the human being always has to cope with three categories of suffering. Our culture checks the sexual impulse, we are threatened by the overpowering forces of Nature, and other human beings cause us suffering. But by regression to a child's horizon of understanding, with our almighty parents projected upon the whole of the Cosmos and seeking compensation for a lost world wherein the Gods — the parents — were punishing and rewarding, the human being finds illusionary help (Cullberg 1985: 74–79).

Edith Weigert-Vowinkel connects this approach to the religious mind with Freud's well known exegesis of the Oedipus myth.[13] The self-castration of the Galli is, accordingly, a means for a Gallus to be able to adore the Great Mother — the symbolic representation of his own biological mother — without being threatened by his own genital sexuality, which challenges the father. The Galli's adoration of Cybele is a compensation and a regression to the undisturbed relation between a mother and a son, and the castration secures for ever this religious illusion, because no genital sexuality is threatening. Weigert-Vowinkel writes (1938: 372):

> Thus the follower of Attis, in the thralls of the Great Mother, renounces his own individuality, he returns to the lap of the mother, who is reconciled by his self-punishment, he returns to a plant-like feminine-childish dependence on her. As the castrated youth, he resembles the feminine deity; in his conversion into a tree, he is the symbolic penis of mother earth, which draws its strength from her alone. The surviving Cybele worshipper withdrew from the masculine rivalry. From that time on, he led the childishly protected life of the Metragyrtes, the begging monks.

Weigert-Vowinkel considers the Phrygian myth of Attis as a projection and dramatization of the Oedipus complex among boys that have grown up in a matriarchal milieu. She bases her theories on Albrecht Dieterich's and J. J. Bachofen's theories of matriarchal dominance in the early history of Asia Minor (Weigert-Vowinkel 1938: 349). But Weigert-Vowinkel also correlates this historiographical hypothesis with her clinical experience as a psychiatrist of maladjusted boys that have grown up in families with an absent father and an overpowering mother. The mother has then been

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[13] See also the psychodynamic studies by Leuba (1968), Meslin (1974) and Pasche (1975).

both the allower and the forbidder and all the ambivalence of the infantile emotional life, i.e. the Oedipus complex, has been directed at the mighty mother and there has been no other outlet for the young man's aggressive and destructive tendencies. He remained bound up in infantile fixation on the mother (Weigert-Vowinkel 1938: 368–373).

It would be easy to dismiss this *Interpretatio Freudiana* as a way of translating obscurities from classical Antiquity by modern Freudian mythology — *obscurum per obscurius!* However, we will temporarily keep this interpretation on the scene and begin by criticising parts of it and then compare it with two modern, possibly analogous, examples.

The vehemently debated hypothesis of a stage of matriarchy in the early history of Asia Minor and elsewhere has been discarded by the modern anthropological and historical sciences (Fluehr-Lobban 1979; Binford 1981–82).

The next issue, the scientific value and universality of the Oedipus complex, has also been a popular battle-ground, which in its turn is connected with how we esteem the psychoanalytical movement. This is extremely thorny terrain and I find it impossible in this context to give some sort of overview. I will, however argue, leaning upon the psychoanalytically inspired anthropologist Melford E. Spiro, who argues in *Oedipus in the Trobriands* that there are deep motivational structures underlying human behaviour, especially concerning sexuality and aggression, that are best studied from a psychoanalytical perspective with due attention paid to the formative influence of social structures and belief systems. Spiro argues that the best available coherent corpus of theory linking the panhuman structure of the family to concepts of individual motivation and concepts of social organisation and culture is psychoanalysis. His point of departure is that no matter how much societies may differ, they must all cope with man's prolonged infantile dependency, whose determining psychodynamic constants shape the individual. He writes:

> Since religion (because, perhaps, of its frequent use of family idioms) like politics (for the same reason) is an especially important cultural domain for the expression of repressed Oedipal conflicts, it might be added that other differences between societies in which the Oedipus complex is repressed in contrast to those in which it is extinguished may also be seen in such diverse religious phenomena as ritual circumcision and clitoridectomy, ascetic abstinences and self-torture, sexualized goddesses and witches, celibate priests and priestesses, mystical trance states and many others. (Spiro 1987: 97)

Spiro argues, contrary to Malinowski, that the Oedipus complex is universal but not transculturally uniform. Its structure, the Oedipal triangle

with its objects for sexual and aggressive wishes, is the most stable part, almost everywhere consisting of a mother or a substitute for a mother and a father or a substitute for a father, and constituting a group inhabiting a common household which sustain certain modes of social relationships with each other. The other parts, what Spiro labels the Oedipus complex's intensity and outcome, are according to the ethnographical evidence cross-culturally variable. The outcome of the whole Oedipus complex may variously take the form of extinction, repression or incomplete repression (Spiro 1987: 87–92).

Spiro then remarks that he has missed an analysis of the role of the Oedipus complex in anthropological interpretations of the often painful and brutal initiation rituals aimed (here not commenting on other meanings that he also acknowledges) at the removal of the Oedipal wishes of sons by, inter alia, physical torture, ordeals and phallic mutilations in the form of circumcision, subincision and superincision (Spiro 1987: 93–97).

The question now arises of whether we can consider the self-castration of Cybele's Galli, which functions as a transitional ritual, as a regressive, or even failed, solution to the Oedipus complex, even though its matriarchal basis is in Weigert-Vowinkel's theory shattered. An intriguing situation develops, because Malinowski — Spiro's opponent in the question of the universality of the Oedipus complex — argues that because the Trobriand society is matrilineal[14] and lacks an authoritarian father, it does not produce an Oedipus complex! This is, as we have seen, in total opposition to Weigert-Vowinkel, who starts with a matriarchal background, which is used to explain that the Mother Goddess is both nurturing and destructive and that this situation causes a heightening of the Oedipal drama with destructive consequences.

We will now try, as an experiment, to base our interpretation of the behaviour of the Galli upon Spiro's hypothesis of the universality of the Oedipus complex and the supposed connection with violent initiation rituals. That is, we will see if it is possible by a modification of Weigert-Vowinkel's hypothesis to further the explanation of the Galli's self-castration. But this tentative interpretation will first be compared with two modern and, maybe, in some way analogous studies. Both of them are to some extent working with psychoanalytic hermeneutics.

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[14] Also disputed by Spiro (1987: 72).

3.1. The Hijras of India — neither Man nor Woman

Serena Nanda's anthropological study provides us with a picture of the enigmatic Hijras of India, a religious community of castrated men who dress and act like women and worship Bahuchara Mata, one of the many versions of the Indian Mother Goddess. By a ritualized emasculation operation, often conceptualized in Hijra's own thinking as self-castration, a male individual is made a member of the community and linked to two of the most powerful figures in the Hindu religion, Shiva — who incorporates both male and female characteristics — and the Mother Goddess. The Hijras points to Arjun, one of the heroes of Mahabharata and also identified with Shiva, as a mythological model. Arjun, who is forced to be incognito for a year, braided his hair, wore female dress and hid as a eunuch serving the ladies at the court. Arjun also participated at weddings and births (Nanda 1990: XV, 24–38).

Nanda is of the opinion that the Hijras' claim of religious power rests on their renunciation of male sexuality and their identification with other religious ascetics in Indian society. They make their living by giving performances at weddings, blessing the newly married couple for fertility by dances and songs that show an aggressive display of imitated female sexuality (Nanda 1990: 1–5). She writes:

> It would seem to be a paradox that the hijras, impotent and emasculated men, have this traditional role of conferring blessings of fertility on newborn males and on newly weds. But the hijras are not merely ordinary, impotent men. As ritual performers, they are viewed as vehicles of the divine power of the Mother Goddess, which transforms their impotence into power of generativity. It is this power, which is displayed in the shameless, aggressive feminine sexuality of the hijras' performances that legitimates, even demands on such occasion, their presence. (Nanda 1990: 5)

Nanda also uses Sudhir Kakar's psychoanalytic study of Hinduism, family and personality in India (Kakar 1981), and she asks how the forces that motivate castration may be understood and related to the cultural context. Kakar emphasizes that the Mother Goddess in Hindu mythology has both beneficent and destructive traits, which represent an ambivalence towards the real mother. The traditional village ceremony in which men dress as women, the transvestite customs of low-caste beggars in Bellary and transgenderism in Hindu mythology points for Kakar not to an extreme manifestation of marginal behaviour, but that these groups disclose governing emotional constellations in the Hindu society, i.e. the Oedipus complex (Kakar 1981: 102).

Nanda transposes this understanding to the Hijras. The castration ritual is seen as a way both of fleeing the demanding and arousing mother and of being reconciled with her. The Hijras say: *It is the Mata who gives us life, we live only in her power.* A Hijra identifies with the mother, remarks Nanda, thereby reducing his anxiety over separation from her. Nanda also points out that the Hijras encourage men with unclear gender identity to join their communities, and so to give up their useless male organs for a ritual role of givers of generativity. The ritual can also be interpreted, as she tries to show, as a way of resolving, by a cultural pattern, the Oedipal conflict. But it can furthermore be seen as a means of warding off death, by their identification with the life-giving mother goddess. Nanda rounds up the subject by calling attention to the fact that the psychological motivations are reinforced by material concerns, the Hijras live by their ritual performances and emasculation protects their economic niche from faked uncastrated men pretending to be Hijras (Nanda 1990: 36–37).

3.2. Modern Self-mutilative Behaviour and Beliefs

Armando R. and Barbara Favazza's monograph *Bodies under Siege. Self-mutilation in Culture and Psychiatry* is a study that from the perspective of cultural psychiatry, lists all sorts of self-mutilative behaviour in both past and contemporary societies. They make an overview of mutilative beliefs, culturally sanctioned and clinical cases of mutilation of the body parts — the head, limbs, skin and genitals — and end the monograph with therapeutical suggestions. What is of interest here, for the study of Cybele's Galli, is that Favazza and Favazza list some modern case studies of self-castration where religious beliefs have played a significant part. Especially Matthew 19: 12 *and there be eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake* have been used by individuals in case-studies as an *aition* for their self-mutilative behaviour. Favazza and Favazza also mention Blacker and Wong's study of four psychotic or border-line men. Blacker and Wong found six common characteristics in these cases. (1) A deprived childhood with a dominant mother and an absent father. (2) The self-castration was a culmination of a long sexual gender confusion. (3) Their relationship with women was submissive and masochistic and, according to Blacker and Wong, indicated a desire for an infantile relationship with a mother figure that would not be threatened by genital sexuality. (4) The act served to relieve depression and could "be considered an attenuated suicide, a compromise that averted total

annihilation.". (5) A strong female identification. (6) Repudiation of the male organs (Blacker and Wong 1963: 169–176).

Favazza and Favazza's conclusions concerning genital self-mutilation, on the basis of several other case studies, are that socially deviant male self-mutilators tend to be psychotic at the time of the act and the motives provided by the patients were in the descending order: the wish to be or delusion of being female; thoughts about homosexuality, relief of psychical pain, guilt over sexual urges such as incest; religiosity; command hallucinations; punishment for failures in the male role. Non-psychotic self-mutilators are most likely men with character disorders or transsexuals that have wished to become female (Favazza and Favazza 1987: 187).

4. A Tentative Evaluation of the Proposed Explanations

How are we now to choose between and to evaluate the various explanations and parallels that have been put forward? I want first to vindicate a plurality of explanations, in spite of Walter Burkert's vehement repudiation of Cook, and indirectly Frazer, Farnell and Nock. Because the plurality has grown out of different types of questions and theoretical views. Burkert is partly working genetically with the Mesopotamian background, partly giving a sociological and functional interpretation. Frazer can be said to explain by definition, or genetically, when he points to the super-paradigm of dying and rising vegetation deities. But he offers an intrinsic religious understanding, intentional from a Gallus point of view, when he argues that self-castration regenerates the vegetational cycle. That intrinsic understanding applies also to Cook and Farnell. Nock emphazises a ritual function leading to ritual purity. Näsström interprets structuralistically in the light of Victor Turner's modification of van Gennep's liminal phase in a transitional ritual. Weigert-Vowinkel offers a psycho-analytical explanation that explains by reference to the ultimate causative Oedipus complex. The self-castration of Cybele's Galli is a much too complicated phenomenon in the history of religions, and can be viewed from so many angles as we have seen, to be mono-theoretically treated. Therefore it seems to me impossible to reduce the phenomenon under scrutiny to one single cause that determines the whole complex.

I will instead build my interpretation on an application of Spiro's model of the interaction of personality and social systems in the performance of a social role. Before the days of Culture and Personality studies it was

thought, according to Spiro, that this or that social act was performed because it was a part of the cultural heritage. This is partly true, but pointing to the cultural heritage does not explain how and why a person chooses a special social role. This must be interpreted by the process of inheriting by learning. Either by the social sanction theory, that is that a person learns through positive and negative sanctions the norms and social roles of a given society. Or a person chooses to follow a norm or a special social role because it satisfies personal needs and it is provided by society. Spiro argues that social systems operate by means of personality and personality functions by means of social roles, an interaction of society and personality. That is, although social roles are prescribed by the cultural heritage, their performance is motivated by the expectation of satisfying personal needs (Spiro 1987: 109–128). I will now try to show how this can be applied to the Galli, see the heuristic model for the explanation of Galli's self-castration on the next page.

The intention of this model of how an individual may have acquired the social role of being a Gallus is to show, on the basis of the analysed hypotheses, the possible interaction of various factors, working on different ontological and epistemological levels. The general and culturally known motive for the act was of course the imitation of Attis — *Imitatio Attidis* — here interpreted as a general motive, because, even if it seems that the Phrygian version of the Attis' myth in fact functioned as the Galli's intrinsic religious motive for the act, there are other mythological variants, as we have seen.

The manifest and culturally intrinsic functions of the role performance, motivated by the *Imitatio Attidis,* would then have been, e.g., according to Frazer, to regenerate the vegetational cycle. (See the functions postulated by the historians of religion, Frazer, (Cook)[15], Farnell and Nock, all of whom seem to be satisfied with an intrinsic religious explanation.) To my mind, these explanations could be labelled non-reductive, sui generis. All of them seem to have some support in the literary evidence, even though Frazer's grandiose paradigm has been severely pruned. They can, as the general motive, be seen as necessary but not as sufficient to explain the self-castration of the Galli.

The conscious and culturally intrinsic general motive and the aforementioned functions are, I want to argue, inadequate, in themselves, to explain such a drastic and violent religious role performance. We have seen

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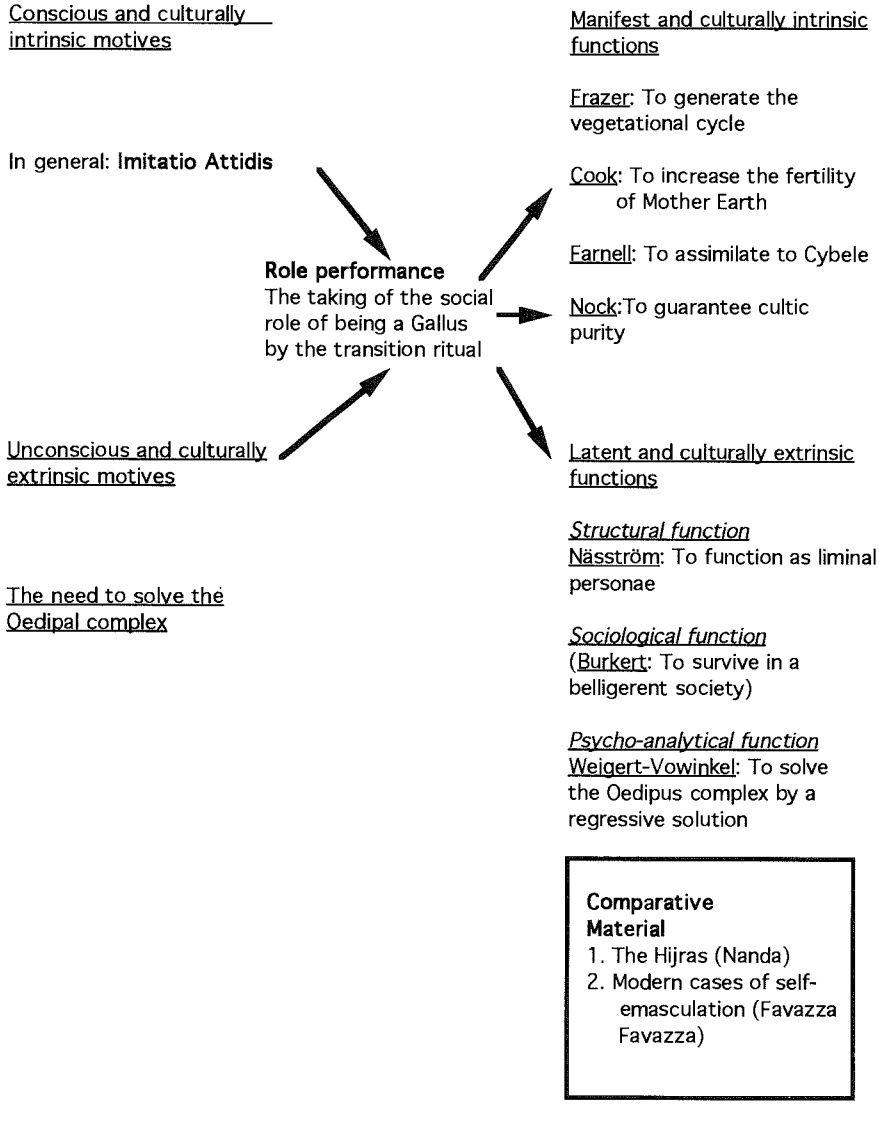
[15] Note that the Zeus Sabazios myth is used by Cook, so that even though he agrees with Frazer's interpretation, it is unclear if he counts on an Imitatio Attidis-motive.

A heuristic model for the explanation of Galli's self-castration



that Weigert-Vowinkel inter alia suggests an unconscious and culturally extrinsic motive; the need to solve the Oedipal complex. But before we plunge into the more or less mythological depths of psycho-analysis, I want to try to evaluate the explanative force of Burkert's and Näsström's hypotheses.

In my opinion it is adequate and necessary to try to apply a sociological interpretation of the recruitment of the Galli. Tentatively, perhaps, an analogue to the Indian perspective of the Hijras could be in place. The Galli earned their living by public performances, telling fortunes, begging, etc., occupying exactly the same economic niche as the Hijras. This could, I conjecture, be one of the non-religious motives for joining the Galli. Compared to this Burkert's survivalist explanation seems to be more of an ad-hoc character.

The explanative value of Näsström's structuralist explanation is hard to estimate. She establishes an intermediate position for the Galli, just as Attis has this role in the mythology, but this is, in my opinion, not an explanation for their behaviour in a strict sense, but a way of understanding how they could have thought about their existential position. And this is a function of the role performance which is latent and culturally extrinsic if we take leave of an understanding of the intermediate position as a realised example of *Imitatio Attidis,* and instead operate with liminal personae.

A psycho-analytical explanation which pays due attention to the formative role of religious traditions could be outlined as follows:

The traditional behaviour of the Gallus is seen as a culturally established role which offers the individual a culturally sanctioned solution to the Oedipal conflict. The performance of the role of a Gallus enabled an individual to solve his unconscious and culturally extrinsic personal need — solving the Oedipal complex — and by that he also furthered manifest and culturally intrinsic functions. This very tentative explanation can be supported by the fact that a phenomenological parallel, the castration of the Hijras, is explained in the same way by the anthropologist Serena Nanda. She also noted that Weigert-Vowinkel's study is very close to her own interpretation of the Hijras (Nanda 1990: 147 note 8; compare also the Indian material in Gray 1912).

Nanda explicitly describes the various conscious and culturally intrinsic motives for, and functions of, the Hijras, by giving prominence to their assimilation to Bahuchara Mata as the source of their generative potency. She emphasizes that emasculation is sometimes thought of as self-castration and that it guarantees their cultic purity as real Hijras.

Nanda even proposes a psycho-analytical understanding which is based on the unconscious and culturally extrinsic Oedipus complex.

The psychiatrists Favazza and Favazza also work with a psychodynamic understanding, but then out of modern case-studies of self-castration. It is of special interest here that they have noticed how Matthew 19:12 and other passages have served the purpose of giving a cognitive frame for an act that otherwise would have been totally inexplicable.

It seems that a modification of Weigert-Vowinkel's theory — without postulating a matriarchal period in the early history of Asia Minor — could be supported by Spiro, concerning the catholicity of the Oedipal complex, and by the modern analogous material surveyed by Nanda and Favazza and Favazza. It is also possible to connect this explanation with the outlined manifest and culturally intrinsic functions. The self-castration of the Galli could be seen as an interaction between an intrinsic religious tradition that enables a socially sanctioned role performance, that solves the emotional problem of the Oedipal conflict in a regressive and brutal way.

That is, in sum, the strength and weakness of a psycho-analytical explanation, because it can be united with all other interpretations; it even survives an amputation of its postulated matriarchal basis, and it would probably blunt the razor of Ockham! We may in this context notice that it lacks tangible evidence concerning the family situation for those individuals that volunteered to become Galli, and it is only supported by modern analogous material.

How we evaluate a psycho-analytical explanation of the self-castration of the Galli depends on our general opinion of the explanative and heuristic value of psycho-analysis — a question that can not be solved in this article.

I will end by reminding the readers that it is not only our contemporary time, with all sorts of body-histories (Brown 1988; McGuire 1990), that has been interested in how the human body mirrors societal and religious concepts. In London, in the year 1653, a work of M.D. chirosophus John Bulwer was printed with a title that I do not want to withdraw from your notice; *"Anthropometamorphosis: Man transform'd: Or, the Artificiall CHANGLING Historically presented, in the mad and cruel Gallantry, folish bravery, ridiculous Beauty, filthy finenesse, and loathsome Loveliness of most Nations, fashioning and altering their bodies from the mould intended by NATURE"*. Bulwer writes about the Galli, following the vegetational interpretations made by the Church Fathers, but in passing making *"A Modest Apology"* for the subject, but exculpating himself by the fact that he would otherwise have to *"answer it to Nature"*.

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LILIAN PORTEFAIX

Ancient Ephesus: Processions as Media of Religious and Secular Propaganda

The significance of religious rituals often reaches beyond their strict religious intentions. Specifically a procession, performed in front of the public, is a most effective instrument of disseminating a message to the crowds. Consequently, this ritual, as is well known, has often been used not only in religious but also in secular contexts; a procession under the cloak of religion can even become a politically useful medium to avoid popular disturbances on peaceful terms.[1] This was the case in ancient Ephesus, where Roman power conflicted with Greek culture from the middle of the first century B.C. onwards; the discord is testified by the famous Salutaris foundation, dating from A.D. 104–108/9, and perpetuated in a long Greek inscription, which has been known for more than a century (Rogers 1991: 19). Although this bequest on behalf of the temple of Artemis Ephesia and the city of Ephesus is one of the most important documents of its kind, the content and purpose has up to now received little attention among scholars; Vibius Salutaris' generosity, made visible in a magnificent procession (reflected even in the Ephesian church), has been explained only in passing as a manifestation of vanity (Cf. Nilsson, 1916: 317, Rogers 1991: 21). A monograph dealing with the Salutaris inscription has recently been published by G. M. Rogers (1991) presenting the procession, created by Vibius Salutaris, from a religious point of view in the context of the mysteries of Artemis Ephesia. Rogers relates the message of the procession to the buildings and works of art it passed on its way through the city; the procession in its physical context is interpreted as a symbolic statement of the Ephesian People mediating to the participating Ephesian young men in military service the sacred identity of the city based on the tradition that Artemis was born in

[1] A survey of all processions in the Graeco-Roman world is given by Bömer 1952.

Ephesus (Rogers 1991: 136–151). In my opinion the Salutaris bequest is rather to be seen as a document of political propaganda, created by a Roman aristocrat according to the political program of the Emperor Trajan (A.D. 98–117), and testifying to the growing Romanisation of the city of Ephesus.[2] Since my theory is anchored on the historical background of the city, I give the following brief outline on the subject.

Ephesus was originally colonized by the Athenians in about 1000 B.C.; later on, in the 4th century B.C., it was captured by the Thracian king Lysimachus who became of great importance to its further development. Consequently, the city was 'colonized' twice by the Greeks (Bürchner 1905: 2787–2798; Knibbe 1970: 251–269). In 133 B.C. Ephesus came into Roman supremacy when the Pergamene king Attalus III bequeathed Pergamon, also including the city of Ephesus, to Rome. As a consequence a great number of Italic business men invaded Ephesus since it was an important centre of trade situated between the East and the West (Knibbe 1970: 750–751). Because of the impoverishment of the city as a consequence of the abuse of the Roman tax collectors, Ephesus revolted against Rome in 88 B.C. in connection with Mithridates' effort to create a large Asian kingdom. In connection with this riot, named the 'Ephesian vesper', a great number of Ephesians of Italic origin were murdered, and the Roman revenge, effectuated by Sulla in 84 B.C., deprived the city of its prosperity for several decades. Nevertheless, the temple of Artemis Ephesia, who was the tutelary deity of the city (Oster 1990: 1700–1701), was for several reasons seen as a source of fear by the Romans; in this perspective it is worth noting that Mithridates gained favour with the Ephesians in extending the territory of its asylum (Knibbe and Alzinger 1980: 752–753). The temple was seen as an important power block in the Mediterreanean world, as is testified by the following descriptive accounts calling attention to various aspects of the cult. Pausanias, writing in the second half of the second century A.D., derives the rumour of the temple from its old age and magnificence:

> But all cities worship Artemis of Ephesus, and individuals hold her in honour above all the gods. The reason, in my view, is the renown of the Amazons, who traditionally dedicated the image, also the extreme antiquity of this sanctuary. Three other points as well have contributed to her renown, the size of the temple, surpassing all buildings among men, the eminence of the city of the Ephesians and the renown of the goddess who dwells there. (Paus. IV, 31, 8. Transl. H. A. Ormerod)

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[2] Although I have another approach to the Salutaris bequest, I am greatly indebted to the careful work done by G. M. Rogers.

In an epigram dating from the beginning of the first century B.C., the poet Antipater from Sidon gives evidence to the temple of Artemis Ephesia as being one of the seven world wonders:

I have set eyes on the wall of lofty Babylon on which is a road for chariots, and the statue of Zeus by the Alpheus, and the hanging gardens, and the colossus of the Sun, and the huge labour of the high pyramids, and the vast tomb of Mausollos; but when I saw the house of Artemis that mounted to the clouds, these other marvels lost their brillancy, and I said, 'Lo, apart from the Olympus, the Sun never looked on aught so grand'. (Anth. Gr. IX, 58. Transl. W. R. Paton)

From Dio Chrysostom (A.D. c. 40–120) we get the information that its activity of banking (Oster 1990: 1719) was of the utmost importance to private as well as to public finances:

You know about the Ephesians, of course, and that large sums of money are in their hands, some of it belonging to private citizens and deposited in the temple of Artemis, not alone money of the Ephesians but also of aliens and of persons from all parts of the world, and in some cases of commonwealths and kings, money which all deposit there in order that it may be safe, since no one has ever dared to violate that place, although countless wars have occurred in the past and the city has been captured. (Dio Chr. orat. 31, 54. Transl. J. W. Cohoon-H. Lamar Crosby)

Finally, we know that the temple of Artemis Ephesia played an important role as an asylum, opening its gates to fugitives of all classes of society (Oster 1990: 1717). The hospitality of the temple towards slaves and political turncoats of all kinds in combination with its financial power, and its attractive force as a resort of pilgrims made it a dangerous centre of political unrest in the eyes of the Romans (Oster 1990: 1717–1719) Accordingly, the Emperor Augustus, introducing a period of intensified Romanisation of Ephesus on various levels (Knibbe 1981: 757–762; Knibbe and Alzinger 1980: 815–818), began a period of Roman infiltration in the temple of Artemis Ephesia. First of all, he so-to-say invited the goddess to the sacred heart of her city (Knibbe and Alzinger 1980: 817) in transplanting an important part of the male sacred hierachy from the temple, located outside the city wall, to the new-built town hall in the centre. (Knibbe and Alzinger 1980: 760–761). Secondly, he allowed the Ephesians to erect an Augusteum in the precinct of the temple, making himself the consort of the goddess (Knibbe 1981: 761); by these clever moves he managed to put the temple in control of Roman power — and furthermore, in a most flattering way. In my view the process of Romanising the cult of

Artemis Ephesia, inaugurated by Augustus, was continued in the reign of Trajan by the bequest made by the Roman equestrian Vibius Salutaris on behalf of the city goddess.[3] The long text (consisting of 568 lines) is divided into seven parts including, besides the main document (i.e. the deed of gift), the ratifications to the bequest given by the Council and the Popular Assembly and the representatives of the Roman government; in our perspective the main document (IEph 27, ll. 134–332) together with an additional paragraph of a later date (IEph 27, ll. 447–568) are of particular interest.

Focusing on the scope of the bequest, it included two different kinds of gifts. Firstly, it consisted of a large sum of money, the interest on which should be annually paid out to various groups of temple servants and members of the municipal government on the birthday of the goddess (Rogers 1991: 39–79). Secondly, it was made up of 31 metal statues to be lain before the public in a procession; the statues represented deities and allegoric personifications (Cf. Wissowa 1912: 179–180) referring on one hand to the Roman Senate and the Roman People and on the other to the Ephesian Council and Popular Assembly and to the six tribes of Ephesian citizens (IEph 27, ll. 158–219; Rogers 1991: 80–126); none of these statues have been preserved, but twelve bases furnished with inscriptions (IEph Nos. 28–36A–D) have been found in the theatre. In dealing first with the second part of the bequest (referring to the gift of statues) we take our starting-point in the following description of the procession, extracted from the main document:

> The aforementioned type-statues (i.e. a copy based upon a well-known statue) should be placed during every regular assembly, and during the new moon's sacrifice of the archieratic year in the theatre by the fitting people on the nine inscribed bases in three groups over the blocks set out as the dedication on the bases and the dedication in the bequest for the boule (i.e. the council), the gerousia (i.e. the body of the elderly), the ephebia (i.e. the body of young men in military service), and (each) tribe. After the assemblies have been dismissed, the type-statues and the images should be carried back to the sanctuary of Artemis and should be handed over to the guards, two of the neopoioi and a beadle attending, to Mousaios, sacred slave of Artemis, custodian of the things deposited, the ephebes receiving and escorting from the Magnesian Gate into the theatre, and from the theatre right to the Koressian Gate in all due dignity.

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[3] The inscription was reproduced on 16 tablets of stone and made up in two copies; one was placed in the temple of Artemis, and the other was set up in the theatre. The inscription has been reproduced and translated into German in 'Die Inschriften von Ephesus' (= IEph), I, No. 27, pp. 167–222) An English translation facing the Greek text is given in Rogers 1991: 153–187.

In like manner (let it) be during all athletic contests, and if any other days are determined by the boule and the demos. (IEph 27, ll. 202–214. Transl. G. M. Rogers)

From this informative part of the text we learn about the timing of the procession, its way through the city, and the placing of the statues. It was stipulated that it should take place on the day when the high priest of the common temple of Asia in Ephesus took office, during the twelve sacred and regular assembly meetings fixed by law and custom, at the time of the Sebasteia, the Soteria, and the penteric Great Ephesia, during all gymnastic games, and on other occasions determined by the Popular Assembly and the Council; from these data we can assume that the procession would have taken place at least every two weeks in the city throughout the year (Rogers 1991: 83). At these occasions the statues were to be carried by various categories of temple servants, most likely in portable shrines (Cf. Acts 19: 24; Picard 1922: 242), from the temple to the theatre and set up on nine bases in groups of three, and afterwards they were to be carried back and replaced in the temple; most likely the carriers went on foot until the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161), when sacred waggons began to appear on Ephesian coins (Hill 1897: 87–88). On its circular route, in all about 7 kilometres, the procession passed through two of the city gates, where the ephebes took over the escort through the city. Judging from the distance, the procession moved approximately about 90 minutes in front of the crowds (Rogers 1991: 110), and since the number of ephebes in the city came to about 250 at the time for the bequest, the procession included on its way inside the city wall at least 260 individuals, representing exclusively the male sex (Rogers 1991: 86).

Turning now to the consecutive order of the statues carried in the procession, we are entitled to make the following reconstruction based on the careful lines of direction given in the main document. 27 statues, arranged in nine groups by three, were carried by various groups of temple servants. The triad at the head of the procession was led by a golden statue of Artemis Ephesia with two silver stags about her, presenting her as the 'Multimammia' ('with many breasts'). This statue, well-known all over the Mediterranean area, showed the goddess as a protectress of the temple and the city of Ephesus (Oster 1990: 701). The figure was covered with various symbols of procreativity, presumably a heritage from the Anatolian mother goddess, and furnished with a mural crown (Fleischer 1973: 46–116). The statue, pictured for the first time on Ephesian coins

after 133 B.C., was presumably a copy based on the original 'zoanon' of Artemis Ephesia, dating back to the 7th century B.C.); according to Xenophon (Anab. V, 3, 4–13) who visited Ephesus in the 5th century B.C., the idol of Artemis Ephesia was made in gold. The 'Multimammia', propagating the prosperity of the city, appeared together with allegoric personifications made in silver representing the Roman Senate and the Ephesian Council (IEph 27, ll. 158–163). Two more statues, however, representing the Emperor Trajan and the Empress Plotina, were to be included in this group after the death of Vibius Salutaris (IEph 27, ll. 150–157); we have to assume that these imperial statues were set up in his own home during his lifetime, since there was no temple dedicated to Trajan in Ephesus; the Emperor was, as far as we know, represented in Ephesus only by a colossal statue associated with a fountain. (Price 1984: 136, 255). Distinguished from this principal groupage showing Artemis Ephesia as a goddess of fertility and material culture, the following eight triads were led by silver statues picturing Artemis Ephesia, this time as a goddess of wild nature in the guise of the Greek huntress holding a torch; only one statue representing Artemis Ephesia holding a torch has hitherto been found in Ephesus. (Rogers 1991: 111).[4] These two aspects of Artemis Ephesia, visible in the procession, are also to be found on Ephesian coins showing on the obverse the effigy of the Greek huntress, and on the reverse that of the 'Multimammia' (Karwiese 1970: 326–328). The statues picturing the goddess in her role of huntress were combined with various allegoric personifications referring to Rome and to the city of Ephesus. Among these statues the figure of the Roman People (IEph 27, ll. 164–167) was an important counterpart to that of the Roman Senate, forming the letters S.P.Q.R. (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*) — a catchword of Roman power well known from inscriptions on public buildings spreading Roman propaganda all over the Empire (Hannestad 1986: 155 and n. 48). In the above mentioned eight groups the most important concomitants of the city goddess were, in our point of view, the statues of the Thracian king Lysimachus (IEph 27, ll. 186–188) and Augustus (IEph 27, ll. 172–176) who were both new-modellers of Ephesus; the former because he transplanted the city from the area around the temple of Artemis Ephesia to its present situation (Bürchner 1905: 2793), and the latter because of his building activity (Knibbe and Alzinger 1980: 815–818); as regards the statue of the hunting goddess related to the one

[4] According to Rogers, Artemis carrying the torch dominated the procession since the torch referred to the nocturnal procession associated with the mysteries of Artemis Ephesia which were held on her birthday in a holy grove outside the city.

of Augustus, we get the information that, in addition to the torch, she was also holding a sacrificial bowl. It has been suggested that the Athenian Androklos, the original founder of Ephesus, was also represented by a statue (Rogers 1991: 107), but the inscription in its present fragmented state gives no evidence of this theory.

According to a simple model of communication we have so far primarily dealt with the message mediated by the inscription. Let us now turn to the sender and to the intended audience. Focusing first on the donor, we have scant information on the life of Vibius Salutaris; he was a rich knight of Italic origin who took up residence in Ephesus after a long military and official career in the provinces, ending up as a subprocurator first of Mauretania Tingitana and then of Belgica. He was a citizen of Rome, and also of the city of Ephesus, where he was a member of the Council; furthermore, he owned large estates in the country around Ephesus (Hanslik 1958: 1982–1983; Rogers 1991: 16–19). From the inscription we can deduce that the motives of Vibius Salutaris associated with the foundation operated on two different levels. First of all, it is evident that he was in high favour with the Emperor Trajan since he had got permission to get hold of the statues of the Emperor and the Empress; according to a letter from the Emperor to Pliny the Younger we know that Trajan was generally reluctant to accept honours of this kind (Plin. epist. 10, 8: 9). Since there are no chronological clues as to the carrier of Vibius Salutaris, we have no idea of his dealings with Trajan; we can only guess that his competence in one way or an other attracted the attention of the Emperor, and that this relationship inspired Vibius Salutaris to use his fortune in accordance with Trajan's political programme; this included a great deal of political propaganda announcing the merits of the Emperor on one hand as the victorious warrior furthering the superiority of Rome, and, on the other as the thoughtful father of the empire caring for his subjects (Hannestad 1986: 146–186); to this characteristic can be added a fear of all kinds of societies, as is testified in another letter addressed to Pliny refusing him even to organize a fire-brigade:

> If people assemble for a common purpose, whatever name we give them and for whatever reason, they soon turn into a political club. (Plin. epist. 10, 34. Transl. B. Radice)

Against this background it is reasonable to assume that Vibius Salutaris — acting either on his own initiative or on the recommendation of Trajan — intended to strengthen the Roman influence in the temple of Artemis

Ephesia — a source of political unrest — and in this respect Vibius Salutaris took even a step further than Augustus. The foundation enabled him to add statues representing the Roman Senate and the Roman People to the one of the divine Emperor Augustus already present in the temple — thus discreetly reminding of the sacred hierachy of the presence of Roman rule in the city. Vibius Salutaris also tried to increase Roman influence on the municipal government in making statues representing Roman rule on different levels attend the meetings of the Popular Assembly held in the theatre; this arrangement might have functioned — at least on the psychological level — as a deterrent from popular disturbance (Cf. Acts 19: 23–41). Whether Vibius Salutaris hoped for a reward of some kind from the Emperor in acknowledgement of the bequest we do not know. From the inscription we learn that Vibius Salutaris became an honorary freeman of Ephesus (IEph 27, l. 17), and that the Popular Assembly decided to confer on him a golden wreath and to set up his statue in the temple of Artemis as well as in frequented places in the city (IEph 27, 87–89). Seen in the municipal perspective, Vibius Salutaris only continued the tradition of Ephesian aristocrats, donating money for various objects to the city (Knibbe and Alzinger 1980: 778); we can be sure, however, that the generosity displayed before the eyes of the Ephesians raised the prestige of the Roman knight in an unusually high degree.

Turning now to the audience, we can state that the crowds watching at the procession created by Vibius Salutaris consisted not only of the Ephesian population. The orator Aelius Aristides (A.D. 117 – c. 177) gives the following report on Ephesus as a metropolis attracting people from all corners of the Empire:

> I think that all men who live between the Pillars of Hercules and the river Phasis would rightly regard Ephesus as having a connection with them both through the accessibility of its harbors and through all its other means of reception. All men journey to it, as if to their own country, and no one is so foolish, or so flies in the face of reality, that he would not concede that the city is the common chancellery of Asia (i.e. the seat of the governor) and a refuge in time of need. [– – –] it is everywhere capable of providing all that a city needs and of satisfying every way of life that men can live and choose to live. (Aristid. or. XXIII, 24. Transl. Ch. A. Bear)

From this evidence (corroborating the texts already quoted) we are sure to conclude that the rumour of the Salutaris procession reached far beyond the city of Ephesus, spreading around the Mediterranean the propaganda of Roman power and Ephesian prosperity. However, from the paragraph later added to the main document we can deduce that the Ephesians of

Greek origin for several reasons received the original donation of Vibius Salutaris with mixed feelings. The Greek provenience of the city was invisible among the statues displayed in the procession: a statue of the goddess Athena was missing, although her sanctuary was the first to be erected in Ephesus (Ath. Deipn. 8. 361), and, as far as we know, also a statue of Androklos who originally founded the city. In addition, Artemis Ephesia could just as well be seen as a Roman goddess; she had a temple in Rome on the Aventine (Wissowa 1912: 332), and the attribute of a torch characterized the Roman Artemis worshipped at Nemi (Cf. n. 4. and Wissowa, 1912: 251); and, all the more, the mighty Ephesian city goddess was presented in the procession as subordinate to Rome, since she was pictured as pouring a libation to the deified Augustus. The negligence of the fact that Ephesus was originally colonized by the Athenians might have excited the Ephesian Greeks to such a degree that Vibius Salutaris extended his original donation; besides another sum of money, he added to the procession two statues on the divine level, this time made in gilded silver. One, representing the goddess Athena Pammusos, was to be carried together with a personification of Ephesian young men below the age of military service (IEph 27, ll. 465–469). The epithet of 'Pammusos', relating the goddess to the nine Muses, presented her as a patroness of all Arts underlining the Athenian origin of Ephesus as a centre of spiritual culture (Knibbe 1970: 290–293), and her relationship to young boys hinted at the future survival of this Greek heritage in the city. However, besides the statue of Athena Pammusos, Vibius Salutaris donated another one picturing the allegoric personification of Concordia Augusta Chrysophorus; this statue was apparently meant to emphasize the material benefit originating in a harmonious relationship between Rome and its subordinate cities. The message of the Concordia, spread also by the 'Multimammia', was certainly meant as a memento at first hand to the Ephesians of Greek origin not to try to rebel against Rome (Knibbe and Alzinger 1980: 752–753), since the appearance of Concordia in Rome was always connected with conflicts of various kinds asking for a peaceful solution (Wissowa 1912: 328–329); we are sure to assume, however, that the signal, announcing subordination to Roman rule, spread around the Mediterranean far beyond its intended audience. Before ending the discussion of the second part of the bequest, the purpose of the procession will be scrutinized. No religious ceremony is mentioned in connection with the parade created by Vibius Salutaris; the aim of this spectacle was obviously to demonstrate that Roman power was superior even to the mighty city goddess of Ephesus. The political stamp on the

procession is further evident from the fact that no women participated although Artemis Ephesia was an important protectress of the female sex specifically in case of childbirth (Apul. met. XI, 2; cf. Bammer 1984: 253–254); according to the inscriptions Ephesian women took part in the affairs of the city only in the role of officially appointed priestesses donating money for the public weal (Knibbe 1981: 101–105; cf. Portefaix 1988: 50–51).

However, Vibius Salutaris intended not only to impart Roman influence on the cult of Artemis Ephesia by placing statues in her temple. According to the first part of the bequest he made her servants, besides representatives of the municipal government, dependent on Roman money by a gift which was annually distributed in the temple by the high priestess on the birthday of the goddess (IEph 27, l. 265; Rogers 1991: 44); it is easy to believe that this gift of money furnished the receptors with a sensitive ear to Roman wants. Consequently, Roman power overshadowed the birthday of Artemis Ephesia, which used to be traditionally celebrated in the springtime by a festive procession true to the Greek origin of the city; thanks to a pictorial account in the romance *Ephesiaca* by Xenophon, dated to the second century A.D., we have got the only preserved description of this procession held in honour of the goddess; unfortunately, there is no local clue to the city of Ephesus in Xenophon's report (cf. Kerényi 1927: 48). According to Suidas, however, Xenophon originated from Ephesus, and, besides the romance in question, he is said to have written a (now lost) book on the city (Gärtner 1975: 1430). Therefore, we have reason to believe that the rituals, performed at the temple of Artemis Ephesia, were well known to him. Since the temple was a famous resort of pilgrims, they might also have been known to his audience, and, consequently, Xenophon's account could easily be checked. It runs as follows:

The yearly festival in honour of Artemis was held at Ephesus; her temple being scarce seven furlongs (i.e. nearly one English mile) distant from the city. The virgins of that place, in their richest attire, assisted at the celebration, as also the young men of the age of Abrocomas (i.e. the hero of the story), who was in his sixteenth year. [– – –]. A mighty concourse of people, as well strangers as citizens, were present; and then the virgins were wont to look out for spouses, and the young men for wives. The procession moved regularly along: the holy utensils, torches, baskets and perfumes, led the van in the forefront; and were followed by the horses, hounds, and hunting accoutrements, as well as for attack as for defence. Each of the virgin train behaved as in the presence of their lover. They were led by Anthia (i.e. the heroine of the story)[5] [– – –]. Her attire was

[5] At this time a high priestess was at the head of the temple (IEph 27, l. 265), and it

a purple dress hanging down from her waist to her knees, the skin of a fawn girded it round, on which hung her quiver and arrows. She bore her hunting arrows and javelins, and her hounds followed her. The Ephesians beholding her in the grove, have often adored her as their goddess [– – –] affirming her to be Artemis herself [– – –]. When the procession was over, all the multitude entered the temple to offer sacrifice. (Xen. Ephes. I, 2. Transl. from Falkener 1862, 335–336)

Compared with the Salutaris procession, the different character of the one described by Xenophon is obvious. In the former the goddess headed the procession which was moving in a circle with the only purpose of making propaganda of the benefits resulting from Roman supremacy; the birthday procession on the other hand was ended by the goddess herself welcoming the crowds to her temple, where the celebration culminated in a sacrifice. Besides the religious character we notice the Greek stamp on this ritual: Artemis Ephesia is represented by a young priestess in the guise of the Greek hunting goddess, and her role of huntress is further underlined by the display of various weapons needed for the chase. The girl, representing Artemis, is accompanied by a train consisting of young unmarried people of both sexes looking for a spouse. However, this role of match-maker, attributed to the Greek Artemis, does not agree with her character as a goddess of virginity (Oster 1990: 1722); this element of the story, referring to a goddess of fertility, might be either a relict from the cult of the indigenous Anatolian mother goddess originally worshipped in Ephesus (Oster 1990: 1687–1688) or a trait characteristic of the style of the hellenistic romance (Rohde 1900: 409–435).

The birthday procession, in addition to the one created by Vibius Salutaris (besides others being beyond my scope in this context), validates the suggestion that the Ephesian streets were often the scene of processions of various kinds. The idea of this ritual also found its way to the Ephesian church (Knibbe 1970: 293–294),[6] being reflected in a letter written by the Bishop Ignatius from Antioch. At that time Ignatius set out for Rome, where he was going to be martyred, and on his way through Asia Minor he wrote a number of letters to the Christian communities in the area (Euseb. hist. eccl. III, 36); the letters are considered to have been written roughly between A.D. 107–110 (Vielhauer 1978: 545). We have reason

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is likely that this office, involving great responsibility, was held by an elderly woman.

[6] Christianity secured a footing in the city in the middle of the first century A.D. The Ephesian church had a strong position based on the apostolic tradition; Paul founded the community, his companion Timothy became its first bishop, and John the Evangelist worked and died in the city, where he wrote the fourth Gospel.

to believe that Ignatius was well informed about the pagan religious life in Ephesus (Cf. Ignat. epist. Magn. XV, 1; epist. Trall. XIII, 1) since he was accompanied on his journey by two deacons (Ignat. epist. Eph. II, 1), named Burrhus (Cf. Ignat. epist. Phil. XI, 2; epist. Smyrn. XII, 1) and Crocus (Cf. Ignat. epist. Rom. X, 1), at home in the Ephesian church. In the letter, addressed to the Ephesians, we can trace two indirect references to the tradition of the erection of the temple of Artemis Ephesia:

> Of grandeur as conceived by the Greeks a real and remarkable example still survives, namely the Temple of Diana (i.e. the Roman name for Artemis) at Ephesus, the building of which occupied Asia Minor for 120 years. [– – –] The crowning marvel was his (i.e., the architect) success in lifting the architraves of this massive building into place. [– – –] the greatest difficulty was encountered with the lintel itself when he was trying to place it over the door; for it was the largest block, and it would not settle on its bed. The architect was in anguish as he debated whether suicide should be his final decision. The story goes that in the course of his reflections he became weary, and while he slept at night he saw before him the goddess for whom the temple was being built: she was urging him to live because, as she said, she herself had laid the stone. And on the next day this was seen to be the case. (Plin. nat. hist. 36, 95–97. Transl. D. E. Eichholz)

Ignatius seems to allude to this pagan tradition, preserved by the elder Pliny, in order to explain the character of Christianity as a spiritualized religion opposed to the pagan cults:

> [– – –] you (i.e. Ephesian Christians) are as stones of the temple of the Father, made ready for the building of God our Father, carried up to the heights by the engine of Jesus Christ, that is the cross, and using as a rope the Holy Spirit. And your faith is your windlass [– – –]. (Ignat. epist. Eph. IX, 1. Transl. K. Lake)

In the eyes of the Ephesian Christians the tangibly presented vision of Christ himself building the Temple by means of the Cross and the Holy Spirit as his tools was suggestive of the tradition that at the erection of her temple Artemis Ephesia herself helped the architect. This passage is usually seen as influenced by Gnosticicm (Schoedel 1985: 66); in my opinion, however, the pagan tradition associated with the temple of Artemis Ephesia must also be taken into consideration as a plausible background of this text. Similar to the goddess, who rescues the life of the architect by placing the heavy stone lintel over the entrance door with her own hands, Christ rescues his followers by erecting a spiritualized Temple in their hearts. Ignatius then goes on to describe a procession made up of Ephesian Christians on their way to God:

[---] and love is the road which leads up to God. You are then all fellow travellers, and carry with you God, and the Temple, and Christ, and holiness, and are in all ways adorned by commandments of Jesus Christ. (Ignat. epist. Eph. IX, 1–2. Transl. K. Lake)

The image of Ephesian Christians carrying God in a shrine alludes to the Salutaris procession (Shoedel 1985: 67; cf. Dölger 1934: 73), while the carrying of 'Christ and holiness' seemingly brings out a spirtualized application of the motive. However, the Salutaris parade contrasted with the procession of Christian pilgrims not being on their road on some special occasion to a temple made of stone but themselves being temples always carrying God and his demands in their hearts. In Ignatius' letter Vibius Salutaris' secular procession demonstrating earthly power became metaphorically transformed into a spiritualized ritual defining in moral terms Christian identity and the adherence to the Kingdom of God. Finally, Ignatius names himself *Theophorus* (i.e. God bearer) in the preface to all his letters; whether this was his second proper name given by birth has been much discussed among scholars (Schoedel 1985: 35–36). It cannot be excluded, however, that *Theophorus* only points to the fact that Ignatius regarded his journey from Antioch to Rome in the context of a procession ending up with his own death; in such a case we may imagine the Bishop of Antioch in the front of the procession described in the Ephesian letter triumphantly leading his fellow Christians on their way leading up to the Kingdom of God.

To conclude: in the beginning of the second century A.D. the public religious life in the city of Ephesus was to a great extent characterized by processions relating to the cult of Artemis Ephesia. The one traditionally performed on the birthday of the goddess called to mind the Greek origin of the city; it was strictly associated with the religious sphere bringing about a close relationship between the goddess and her adherents. The other, artificially created by a Roman, was entirely secular, and spread its message every fortnight in the streets of Ephesus. It referred to the political field of action and intended to strengthen the Roman rule over the city on two levels. The presence of statues, representing Roman instruments of power, in the temple of Artemis Ephesia elevated Roman rule into the domain of the gods, and the placing of these statues in the theatre made the presence of Roman power tangibly conscious to the members of the Popular Assembly, reminding them of their position as citizens of a city subordinate to Rome. The tension between Roman rule and Greek spritual culture became clear in the Salutaris bequest; the

Greek origin of Ephesian culture was later included in the message of the procession by a statue portraying the Athenian city goddess, and at the same time a statue of Concordia was added reminding the Greeks not to rebel against Roman rule. This secular parade, conceptualizing Roman power and Greek cultural identity, found its way even to the Ephesian church. It was metaphorically used by a Christian Bishop making propaganda for the Kingdom of God in explaining the character of spiritualized Christian worship showing itself exclusively in the observance of the Commandments.

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MORTEN LUND WARMIND

The Cult of the Roman Emperor before and after Christianity

It has been observed many times that rituals have a tendency to survive in spite of the various changes that may occur in the accompanying mythical explanations. Often, most of the people practising the great majority of religions are not at all interested in whether there is total agreement about *why* a ritual is carried out, as long as the *how* is agreed upon. Phrased as a slogan: Myths perish — rituals endure. (It should be noted that 'myths' to me in this context are primarily tales accompanying and explaining rituals. '*Hoc est corpus meum*' (E.g. Luk. XXII, 19) will serve as an example.)

There is certainly no dearth of examples of perishing myths and enduring rituals. It will suffice to remember that the most important Islamic rituals are from the pre-Islamic era, but in Islam they are mythically explained as being founded by Abraham and that their meaning was forgotten, but the acts preserved. That many Christian holidays are celebrated as a result of the syncretism of Christ and another Hellenistic god, Sol, the sun, is generally considered undeniable.

That rituals endure, whereas myths perish is obvious to the historian of religion in the long perspective. In the shorter perspective, on the individual level, things may look quite different. For some reason, an individual may choose to change his religion, and thereby reject one set of myths and even rituals for the benefit of another. Whole nations may undergo this process too, and I will not deny that the changes in mythology may be very significant, even if some of the rituals in these latter cases seem to continue relatively undisturbed.

This paper is concerned with a complete set of rituals and certain connected ideas, namely the Roman emperor-cult, that had survived the change of religion from Roman religion to Christianity. It has often been noted that there are strong ties between Byzantine Christianity and the imperial Byzantine ceremonial (Grabar 1936), but the continuity from the

non-Christian emperor-cult is rarely stressed.

Numerous problems surround this undertaking; there are several different views of the events that led to the change of religion, and the cult of the emperor has in itself been differently viewed by different researchers. It is therefore necessary for me to make my own views clear from the outset.

To me, the emperor-cult includes the rituals and symbols which surround the Roman emperor and clearly demonstrate that he is more than an ordinary human. It is not ususal to regard this expression of Roman religious feeling with very great interest (Price 1884: 11–22), but in my view, this is a mistake. I believe that the study of the emperor-cult permits a clearer appreciation of the development of Roman religion in the last centuries of its existence.

It is obvious that the rule of the emperor was from its very beginnings something quite extraordinary and suspicious in the eyes of the adherents of the old Roman religion. It is interesting that Octavian, at the same time as he was making this new-fangled invention into an institution, was also carrying on a thorough restoration and revitalization of the ancient Roman religious institutions. Quite possibly it was a message that the new age did not signify the dissolution of the old ways. It is extremely important that the Roman emperor acquired and retained complete control over Roman religious life via the office of the Pontifex Maximus, and that the ancestry and to a certain degree the person of the emperor was divine. Numerous prescriptions and rituals served to demonstrate that the emperor was more than human in the city of Rome itself, and in the provinces this concept was strongly amplified.

There are, in my view, two different sides to the emperor-cult. On the one side there is the ceremonial around the person of the emperor in Rome, on the other side the cult of the emperor which was prevalent in the provinces, in particular in Asia Minor, where divine rulers were almost a commonplace. It is often stressed that this temple-cult of the emperor (to many the 'emperor-cult proper') is a phenomenon chiefly found in Asia Minor, and thus not a Roman one. This understanding is oblivious to the fact that during his 'restoration' of the old Roman religion, Octavian — with the *religious* title of Augustus[1] — managed to get his name mentioned in the hymns of the Salian priests, one of the oldest and most venerable of Roman cults.

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[1] Linking him to Mercury, which may be very significant as this god is often understood as a mediator between the divine and the human worlds. This is an ideal role for an emperor — also in Christian times.

The cult of the emperor differs from other cults of the Roman empire in two decisive ways. In the first place, sacrifice is never made *to* the emperor, but always 'on behalf of' the emperor. Secondly, the depictions of the emperor have an abnormally large significance. In keeping with Hellenistic tradition, the emperor-cult could be joined to the worship of the most important local divinity, in whose temple an imperial statue was then set up. In this context it should be remembered that Caligula tried to make the Jews accept this form of worship connected with the worship of Jahweh in the temple of Jerusalem. It will be remembered that already in 167–165 BCE Antiochus IV Epiphanes prohibited the cult of Jahweh and instituted the cult of Zeus in his stead.

In all other ways, the cult of the emperor was precisely like all other Roman cults in the Hellenistic world. The usual sacrifices, periodical feasts (e.g. the birthday of the deity) were held in the usual manner, and as usual there was in the locality a college of priests made up of the best men of the town or place.

The significance of the picture of the emperor can be illustrated by the fact that all depictions of the emperor were cult-images and therefore sacrosanct. At the foot of the emperor's statue, a person was unpunishable. When a slave was sold, the seller was obliged to inform the prospective buyer about previous escape attempts and whether the slave had ever run to an image of the emperor.

Regarding the court ceremonial and the daily rituals, our information is scarce. How great a role one ascribes to the reforms of Diocletian, or the development under the Christian Byzantine emperors thus becomes very important. The main problem is whether one believes that the very stiff ceremonial, known from descriptions of the Byzantine court are a result of a late Byzantine development or a continuation of ancient Roman practices. In my view, which is based on the studies of Andreas Alföldi, a number of features of the Byzantine ritual are quite close to the ceremonial from at least the second or third centuries.

I shall later present some arguments for this belief, but first I will deal with the continuity from pre-Christian into Christian times which I think is to be found in the position of the emperor in the temple-cult.

It is, as I have mentioned, particularly in Asia Minor that the temple-cult of the Roman emperor could be seen as a continuation of the local religious customs, but there are signs that Augustus tried to unify the imperial power and local religious customs, both in Egypt[2] and in the

[2] I should note that Professor Bergmann, in his opposition mentioned that the

Celtic areas. In Gaul, for example, Augustus seemed to be working toward an identification of himself with the most important pan-Celtic diety, Lug[3], whose annual festival, luckily for Augustus, fell around the beginning of the month of August (Fishwick 1987: 99-102).

That the emperor-cult did, however, have better foundations, also ideologically in Asia Minor is illustrated by the fact that 'ordinary' Roman generals were worshipped there, even while alive. This was of course according to the ancient custom whereby victorious generals or overlords were worshipped in their loyal city-states. The cult of the emperor breaks away from this tradition in that the emperor is a remote impersonal master instead of a close and well-known one, with personal ties in the different cities. In the longer run, the individual emperors lose their importance in comparison with the more impersonal group of 'augusti' or 'σεβαστοι' in Greek. The emperor cult is also from the outset a way of integrating the provinces in the Roman realm and can therefore be seen as part of the process of romanization (Ørsted 1985: 15). In this context it can be mentioned that the Roman calendar of Julius Caesar was adopted by the province of Asia Minor and a new era begun on the birthday of Augustus as part of a plan to 'honor the god'. This integrating aspect of the emperor-cult is often stressed when the change to Christianity is discussed, but it can be shown to have been important from the very beginning of the empire.

It has already been mentioned, that the college of priests was made up of local VIP's, who in this way came into contact with the central power. The occasional public cult-festivals were a cause for general joy and amusement and would for a moment bring all of the populace into almost personal contact with the distant government.

According to Simon Price, 77 temples dedicated to emperor-worship have been found in Asia Minor. 21 of these are undatable, and this makes it uncertain whether the building of temples came to an end towards the 3rd century. The most likely date of seven of the undatable temples would place them in this century, and all in all it would seem more likely that the building of temples continued as before.

With the adoption of Christianity, the building of temples stopped, but in its stead an imperially financed church construction period began on a similar scale. The close connexion between the official sacred architecture of the emperor-cult and the earliest official church architecture has been

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evidence for an imperial cult in Egypt is unclear and scarce.

[3] Lug was quite probably also identified with Mercury, who in Gaul, as in many other places has the epithet 'Augustus'.

discussed (Haussig 1971: 40–43), but few will deny that the earliest legal church buildings were planned and executed under the auspices of the emperor. At the same time, the leaders of the Christian cults were given important posts in the administration, with the consequence that local VIP's were soon found among the leaders of the Christian cult, and Christianity became part of a career in the same fashion as earlier the emperor-cult. It is also important to remember that the first five important emperors, Constantine (with his mother), Theodosius I, Theodosius II, Marcian, Leo I *and their wives,* were incorporated in the Christian throng of divine beings, in that they all became saints, so that they might be worshipped in their new 'temples' at fixed times of the year, and so that they might be invoked as divine saviors.

Prayers on behalf of the emperor and for his life and health continue with undiminished force in the new religion. It is certain that the exteriors are different, less bloody, possibly more decent and less conducive towards public joy and amusement, but the continuity is easy to see. It can be added that all competing cults can now be exterminated gradually with military force on the initiative of the emperor.

This presupposes a view of Christianity as the special, personal religion of the emperor, a kind of continuation of the emperor-cult. This view will not be seen as the whole truth by either today's Christians or the Christians of the time. And rightly so, when seen from the Christian perspective. But if things are seen in a larger perspective, I think it *is* a reasonable point of view. As a comparison, I would like to bring up the emperor Elagabal, who reigned from 218–222. Apparently he tried to fuse the cult of the emperor with the cult of the sun as an alternative to the traditional Roman religion (Halsberghe 1972). His methods were much more heavy-handed than Constantine's, and he failed miserably, but I cannot see any basic difference between the fundamental projects of the two emperors. Elagabal tried to introduce the worship of the Syrian god of the sun, of the same name, but with the Roman epithet 'sol invictus'. Elagabal, the emperor, was the personification of his god and therefore his private quarters were the most sacred place in the empire. In monotheistic consequence thereof, he moved all the most sacred objects of Rome to his bedchamber, including the superior Vestal Virgin, whom he married in an act of obvious sacrilege. Besides he gave important posts to the cult-leaders of his religion, before the old Roman aristocracy did away with him.

In our context, it is noteworthy that Constantine also worshipped the unconquered sun, whom he seems to have identified with Christ. He

was depicted as Sol, and he tried to move some of the holiest objects of Rome to his own new Rome, Constantinople. He placed the leaders of his new religion in the highest posts, but he was much more careful and gradual than Elagabal, and he avoided long stays in the city of Rome. Furthermore, he left the Vestal Virgins alone, and it is noteworthy that precisely this cult is the last non-Christian cult to have functioned in Rome — an obvious sign of the deep respect this cult in particular enjoyed. Maturity and wisdom separate Constantine from Elagabal, not the goal they were after. This goal seems to have been to make the emperor-cult the religion of the Roman empire through one or another sun-related cult. The Christian imperial power preserved the sun-relation, which can be seen most clearly from the fact that one of the emperor's attributes was the nimbus of the sun-god. The most likely inspiration for the idea that empire and sun-cult were connected is probably the Ahura Mazdah-cult of the Persian royal power.

It is also obvious that Constantine and his successors, by virtue of their office as Pontifices Maximi, were counting on the leading role in the affairs of the new religion. All the early ecumenical Christian councils convened on the initiative of the emperor. At these councils, unity was the main purpose and the main idea — a unity of opinion and faith, which seems to be quite alien and quite new to Christianity, and which at any rate was never achieved.

The opposition which faced Constantine from the Church almost from the outset only goes to show, in my opinion, that he was not involved in any conspiracy with the Christian leaders, even if his plans did turn out to be successful without any major difficulties. The continuation of the imperial cult in the Christian Roman state can also be observed from the fact that the pictures of the emperor retained their sanctity and continued to be the object of awe and worship. The usual portentous omens which are found in large numbers in pre-Christian writers such as Suetonius concerning the emperial statues are still seen, now as an expression of divine will. Furthermore, the opponents of Julian the Philosopher complained that Julian let his image be set up among the non-Christian gods, so that people, when dutifully offering reverence to the imperial image, also uwittingly offered homage to the gods. By this time it was no longer questioned that the imperial image should be honored.

The relationship between the emperor and his image can also be used to explain the relationship between the Father and the Son of the Trinity, one of the more important differences between 'Catholic' and 'Arian' Christians. Athanasius used the following example in an attack on the

Arians in c. 360: "... The image could say to a man, who wished to see the king after [having seen] the image: 'The king and I are one; for I am in him and he is in me!'" (Athanasios, Oratio III contra Arianos, 5). The special official powers of the bishop of Rome, the Pope, were conferred upon him by the emperor — first under Gratian II — and when the emperor was reigning over the Church it was therefore not really caesaropapism. The papacy is rather a continuation of certain imperial powers in the Western half of the empire — it could be described as *papacaesarism* — and according to this view, Byzantine Christianity was a relatively undisturbed continuation of the reinforced imperial cult of Constantine, not an aberration, where the emperors assumed more and more power over the Church. This last view can sometimes be found, but I do not believe it can be substantiated.[4]

This brings us to the court ceremonial known from Byzantium. The most important feature is that the emperor literally is the image of God, and therefore is made to appear as little as possible as a human being. Our best source of information is from a book by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos from the 940s, *Liber de Caeremoniis,* and from an ambassador of the German Emperor, Liutprandt of Cremona, of 968. The latter wrote two relevant works, the *Antapodosis* and the *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana.*

The ceremonial underscores the immobility and unapproachability of the emperor. Liutprand mentions a number of mechanical implements, among these some gilt lions that roared and a throne on an elevator, lifting the emperor over the crowd while he sat motionless as a statue. The visitors had to perform the proskynesis, throwing themselves prostrate on the floor, touching it with their foreheads, but this was a matter of course, for it had been the rule since the third century, at least. Alföldi cites a multitude of earlier examples, dating back to Caesar himself (Alföldi 1970: 46–65).

It is with this ceremonial that parallels have been drawn from the Byzantine-Christian ritual and the Byzantine emperor-cult. The emperor is treated very much like an icon, or rather, the other way round. The whole shape and structure of the Christian basilica is reminiscent of the official imperial halls. Here it must again be stressed that it is possible that the Byzantine imperial ritual with immense conservatism had retained the shape of imperial ceremonial from pre-Christian times. In the Handbook

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[4] In this connection it should be remembered that the Gothic kings of Toulouse in 418–507 considered themselves to be the natural heads of the church as an obvious continuation of ordinary Roman custom (Wolfram 1988).

of Ceremonies by Constantine Porphyrogennetos there are a large number of Latin titles and ceremonial concepts, but written, naturally, with Greek letters and probably incomprehensible as words to the Greek court of the 10th century — Greek, that is, at least since the days of Constantine.

This linguistic evidence is, to me, argument enough, but more can be adduced. In the study of Nordic religion, the handbook of Constantine Porphyrogennetos is known for a remarkable description of the *'so-called Gothic games'.* It seems that these games were performed by Greek actors, who among other things had to sing a song which is recorded in the book and contains a lot of incomprehensible words that might be Gothic or at least Germanic. Sometimes this ritual is considered as an influence from Scandinavian mercenaries, 'væringer', but this cannot be true. Rather, the ritual preserves the memory of Gothic presence at the court in the middle of the fourth century.

At that time, the court ceremonial was obviously open to foreign influences, but it is remarkable that this ceremony, which was some 600 years old at the time of Porphyrogennetos, is still mentioned with a distancing 'so called'. In the conservative court-ceremonial this completely grecized ritual was still regarded, I believe, as a 600-year-old renewal.

It is possible to claim that the pre-Christian court ceremonial of the emperor-cult had an important consequence for the shape of the Byzantine church-ritual. In the Latin-speaking West, the development was different, probably because of the failing imperial control over the area.

Regarding the imperial control over the church, it is instructive to contemplate briefly the careers of Julian the Philosopher (361–363) and Justinian I (527–565), because both tried to exert their rightful powers over the religious affairs according to a grand scheme. Julian had taken over the view of the Christians that the non-Christian religions could be regarded as a kind of system, paganism, and he tried to organise these religions after the Christian pattern. He did not persecute the Christians, but he did take their special privileges away from them, and he bothered them in various ways with arguments from the New Testament which he knew through and through. That the removal of Christians from public service caused an uproar clearly shows how much Christianity had become a career even at the time of Julian. His measures seem to a great degree aimed at stopping this practice, but he was, as he himself claimed, less bloodthirsty than his Christian predecessor Constantius, who sought to promote Christian unity with violence. The Christian reply to Julian was the complaint that this apostate would deny them even their martyrs.

The most Christian emperor Justinian has not been given the best

reports by Christian historians, who have complained about his imperial interference in church matters. But Justinian had the ability and the interest to try to create unity in the Christian church, in order to establish civil peace and safe streets, convincingly uniting the government and the state — the idea of Elagabal and Constantine! As I have already mentioned, such unity seems quite alien to Christianity, and it has never been achieved. It was at the time of Justinian that the last lethal blow was struck against the non-Christian religions, symbolised in the closing of the Athenean schools in 529. As mentioned, it is possible to see the victory of Christianity as an attempt by the imperial power at introducing a single emperor-cult, fused with a sun-cult, into the Roman empire at the exclusion of all previous religious systems. It is possible that the monotheistic world-view of Christianity made this cult particularly apt for this purpose. It is also true that it all looks quite different at the individual level. For instance, neither Constantine nor Constantius were really Christian, at least not until they were sure of being near death. Julian, who was Christian, experienced a kind of conversion before he decided that the old pagan cults were more praiseworthy than what he called the religion of the Galilees. One of the more famous tales of conversion in the other direction, that of Saint Augustine, is from the 420s, and it is apparent from his 'Confessions' that intellectuals could not at this time take Christianity seriously. The writings, particularly the Gospels, appeared to be too primitive.

In our ritual context we can conclude that the earliest official Christianity obviously represents a continuation of the Roman emperor-cult in several ways, at least in the shape it took in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. In the West, the rituals which endured were placed in such a new and different ideological framework that the connection with the emperor here becomes almost invisible — until one remembers that Catholic Christianity is in the West still headed by a man with the imperial title of Pontifex Maximus.

I promised, finally, that the study of the emperor-cult could provide an insight into the religious development of the Roman empire in the period toward the adoption of Christianity. I will only hint that it must weigh heavily, that more than one emperor seems to have wanted to place all the religions and cults under the emperor-cult, with the use of force if necessary. Monarchy and monotheism seem to be closely connected, and it cannot be sufficiently stressed that the non-Christian religions were strong enough to make it necessary to conduct a war of extermination against them with military force. It is often claimed that the non-Christian cults

were in a state of utter dissolution, as a result of tough philosophical criticism by intellectuals, but it is forgotten, I think, that this criticism had been leveled against the non-Christian religions for many centuries. It should also be remembered that many non-Christian cults were lively enough to be absorbed and continue in Christianity in another guise. The rituals endure, even while their mythological basis is perishing.

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ANDERS HULTGÅRD

Altskandinavische Opferrituale und das Problem der Quellen

Die Erforschung von Religionsformen, die uns als lebendige Erscheinungen nicht länger begegnen, ist mit besonderen Schwierigkeiten verbunden. Der unmittelbare Zutritt zu einer noch bestehenden Religion gibt Annäherungsmöglichkeiten, die uns beim Studium verschwundener Religionen fehlen. Wir können Opferrituale, Feste und Einzelriten nicht mehr beobachten oder an ihnen teilzunehmen. Religiöse Vorstellungen, Mythen und Lehren sind uns in ihrem einst beigegebenen Zusammenhang nur selten zugänglich. Es gibt keine Möglichkeit, sich auf aktuelle und repräsentative Dokumente zu verlassen, geschweige denn auf Informanten oder Fragebögen zurückzugreifen.

Die zweite Schwierigkeit liegt im Charakter des Materials, das sich aus einer längst verschwundenen Kultur[1] erhalten hat. In welcher Weise ist es auf uns gekommen? In der Art von polemischen Zusammenfassungen und Notizen oder als sachliche Beschreibung aus historisch-antiquarischem Interesse? Wenn es sich um ursprünglich mündliche Überlieferungen handelt, erheben sich weitere Fragen. Wurden diese Überlieferungen bei ihrer Niederschrift in irgendeiner Weise verfälscht, oder sind sie während der Zeit des Tradierens in einem neuen Milieu umgestaltet worden? Wer waren die Tradenten? Letztlich muß man sich fragen, ob das uns vorliegende schriftliche Material als repräsentativ oder nur als marginal anzusehen ist.

Bei Quellen anderer Art, vornehmlich den materiellen Überresten einer verschwundenen Kultur, stellen sich Fragen zu ihrer Funktion oder symbolischen Bedeutung. In manchen Fällen wissen wir nicht einmal, wozu ein archäologischer Gegenstand einst benutzt wurde.

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[1] Der Begriff „Kultur" deckt in meinem Sprachgebrauch den ganzen Bereich menschlicher Wirksamkeit und schließt demzufolge auch die Religion ein.

Was die altskandinavische Religion[2] anbelangt, kommt noch ein Problem hinzu, nämlich die Knappheit an authentischem Material. Bei näherem Hinsehen sind nur wenige Traditionen in genuin vorchristlicher Form auf uns gekommen. Wir sind daran gewöhnt, die altisländische Literatur als Ausdruck für altnordische oder gar altgermanische Sitten und Anschauungen anzusehen. Man vergißt dabei, daß der weitaus größte Teil dieser Literatur in der Tat als Vehikel der christlich mittelalterlichen Kultur dient. Sogar von dem, was übrigbleibt, kann nicht alles unbedingt als authentisch vorchristlicher Stoff gelten. Vieles ist schon von dem christlich-mittelalterlichen Kontext geprägt, in dem es überliefert wurde.

Um die Quellenlage der altskandinavischen Religion zu verstehen und den Wert verschiedener Typen von Quellen richtig bestimmen zu können, müssen wir einige allgemeine Überlegungen anstellen, die sich auf den Prozeß eines Religionswechsels beziehen. Welche Elemente der alten Kultur haben die besten Aussichten, sich über einen Religionswechsel hinwegzuretten? Damit hängt die Frage zusammen, auf welche Weise die neue Religion sich durchsetzt. Man muß sich auch fragen, welche Gruppen ein Interesse hatten, etwas von der alten Kultur zu bewahren.

Wenn man die Christianisierung des Nordens betrachtet, wird es klar, daß dieser Prozeß im großen und ganzen von oben durchgeführt wurde, von denjenigen, die die politische Macht besaßen. Das Christentum ist seinem Wesen nach eine exklusive Religion, die von einer ausgesprochenen Intoleranz gegen andere Religionsformen getragen ist. Das Zusammenwirken von politischer Macht und Glaubensexklusivität im Religionswechsel wurde für das Bestehen vorchristlicher Überlieferungen und vorchristlichen Brauchtums verhängnisvoll. Nur auf Island mit seinen besonderen sozialen und politischen Verhältnissen konnte sich etwas von der altskandinavischen religiösen Vorstellungswelt retten. Es wird oft behauptet, daß der Ritus konservativ sei, während der Mythus sich viel leichter verändere[3]. Ich möchte aber, wenn es um die Christianisierung des Nordens geht, das Gegenteil behaupten. Das erste, was den Reli-

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[2] Ich brauche hier den Terminus „altskandinavische Religion", um die vorchristliche Religion der skandinavischen Bevölkerung in Nordeuropa zu bezeichnen, im Unterschied zu den Religionen der anderen Völker des Nordens, der Samen und der Finnen; siehe dazu Hultgård 1991.

[3] Siehe zum Beispiel Widengren 1969: 210–211. Die Aussagen Widengrens über den Konservatismus des Ritus dürften weithin als repräsentativ gelten. Behauptungen wie „Der Sinn der Handlung kann wechseln und verschieden gedeutet werden, die Handlung selbst bleibt dieselbe" und „Auch der Mythus kann natürlich den Religionswechsel überdauern, aber niemals in unveränderter Form" enthalten viel Richtiges, aber treffen nicht für alle Situationen zu.

gionswechsel *nicht* überdauern konnte, war eben der öffentliche Kultus, der ja auch Ausdruck einer gemeinsamen Ideologie war. Der öffentliche Kultus wurde in Skandinavien vielfach von der herrschenden Schicht getragen und Vertreter dieser sozialen Gruppe, wie die Häuptlinge und die Könige, übten auch sakrale Funktionen aus. Da diese Schicht eine neue, glaubensexklusive Ideologie annahm, mußte sich unbedingt auch der öffentliche Ritus verändern. Einzelne rituelle Handlungen aus der alten Religion, die sich auf eine Privatperson oder ein Gehöft bezogen, konnten bis ins christliche Mittelalter weiterleben. Für das Vollziehen gemeinsamer Opferrituale von größerem Umfang bestand jedoch keine Möglichkeit mehr, nachdem das Christentum als einzige offizielle Religion eingeführt worden war.[4] Elemente der vorchristlichen Vorstellungswelt konnten dagegen den Religionswechsel überdauern in der Form von Volksglauben oder als rein literarischer oder erzählerischer Stoff, der nicht mehr Gegenstand eines religiösen Glaubens war.

Man muß schließlich Rücksicht auf die regionalen Unterschiede im Prozeß der Christianisierung nehmen. Die offizielle Bekehrung Islands verlief anders als in Norwegen, über die Christianisierung Dänemarks und Schwedens sind wir schlechter unterrichtet, aber man darf keineswegs dasselbe Szenario wie in Norwegen voraussetzen. Es ist auch wichtig festzuhalten, daß die Christianisierung sich innerhalb derjenigen Gebiete, die später die mittelalterlichen Königreiche Skandinaviens darstellten, zum Teil sehr unterschiedlich vollzog. Die Küstengebiete im südlichen Norwegen wurden früher vom Christentum durchdrungen als das Hinterland. In Schweden hielt sich die altskandinavische Religion länger in den Landschaften der Sviar um den Mälarsee herum, aber auch dort kann man klare regionale Unterschiede beobachten (vgl. Gräslund 1985: 303–305). In Dänemark tritt das südliche Jütland als ein frühes Zentrum der Christianisierung hervor. Auf Gotland scheint das Christentum mit der altskandinavischen Religion zwei Jahrhunderte lang zusammengelebt zu haben, bevor die offizielle Annahme des Christentums durchgeführt wurde (Thunmark-Nylén 1989).

Die prinzipiellen Erwägungen, die ich oben angeführt habe, bilden den Hintergrund, auf dem man das Problem unserer Kenntnisse von altskandinavischen Opferritualen zu sehen hat.

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[4] Auf ähnliche Weise argumentiert Olsen 1966: 25.

Kurzer Überblick über die Diskussion

Bei der Darstellung vorchristlicher Opferriten in Skandinavien wird immer wieder auf einige Quellentexte in der altisländischen Literatur hingewiesen. Sie gehören zum eisernen Bestand der Handbücher und Monographien über altgermanische und altskandinavische Religion, und bilden den Kern einiger Spezialstudien über das altskandinavische Opferritual. Die Haupttexte finden sich in Snorris Heimskringla und in den isländischen Familiensagas. Im allgemeinen wird dabei der Quellenwert dieser Texte hoch angeschlagen oder sogar als Beschreibung tatsächlicher Opferhandlungen aufgefasst. Ich nenne als repräsentative Beispiele für diese Auffassung Helge Ljungberg (1938), Nils Lid (1942), Jan de Vries (1957), Folke Ström (1961), Gabriel Turville-Petre (1964), Åke V. Ström (1966; 1975).

Anderseits hat es an einzelnen kritischen Stimmen nicht gefehlt, die den historischen Wert der Opferbeschreibungen Snorris und der Sagas angezweifelt haben (Baetke 1951; Walter 1966; Holtsmark 1970). Es sind aber zwei größere Arbeiten zu nennen, die eine systematische und breit angelegte Auseinandersetzung mit der üblichen Einschätzung der altisländischen Opfer- und Tempelberichte geben (Olsen 1966; Düwel 1985). In seiner Beschreibung des vorchristlichen Kultus läßt Olaf Olsen alle Notizen der Isländersagas und des Landnámabók systematisch beiseite als historisch unzuverlässig und verhält sich auch ziemlich kritisch gegenüber Snorris Schilderungen in der Heimskringla. Klaus Düwel begründet seine Umwertung von Snorris Zuverlässigkeit als Zeuge vorchristlicher Opferpraxis auf eingehende wortgeschichtliche und quellenkritische Studien, und seine Untersuchung muß in jede weitere Diskussion einbezogen werden, weil sie dazu zwingt, die ganze Frage unserer Kentnisse altskandinavischer Opferrituale neu aufzunehmen. Lassen wir aber zuerst die Texte selbst reden!

Die Haupttexte und ihre literarische Einfassung

Eine zusammenhängende Beschreibung eines Opferfestes und eines Kulthauses (*hof*) findet sich nur in drei Texten: in der Saga von Hakon dem Guten Kap. 14 (in Snorris Heimskringla), in der Eyrbyggjasaga Kap. 4 und in der Kjalnesingasaga Kap. 2.[5] Ich gebe hier die zwei erstgenannten

[5] Es gibt zwar andere Quellentexte über altskandinavische Opferfeste. Sie beschreiben aber nur einen Teil des Rituals näher, wie Kap. 17 der Saga von Hakon dem Guten (die Trinksitten), oder aber man findet allgemeine, sehr komprimierte Angaben, die nur gewisse Einzelheiten vermitteln, wie Adam von Bremen über das große Opferfest in Uppsala and Thietmar von Merseburg über ein ähnliches Fest in Lejre.

Beschreibungen in Übersetzung mit Angabe der wichtigsten Begriffe auf altisländisch.

Heimskringla, saga Hákonar goða Kap. 14.

Sigurd Jarl war ein sehr eifriger Götterverehrer (*blótmaðr*), und so war auch sein Vater Hakon. Sigurd Jarl veranstaltete im Namen des Königs alle Opferfeste (*blótveizlur*) dort in Tröndelag. Es war alte Sitte (*forn siðr*), daß, wenn man eine Opferfeier (*blót*) abhalten sollte, alle Bauern dorthin kommen sollten, wo es ein Kulthaus (*hof*) gab, und das Essen mitbrachten, das sie haben müßten solange das Fest währte. Bei diesem Fest sollten alle Männer Bier mitbringen. Man hatte auch allerlei Kleinvieh geschlachtet, sowie Pferde, und all das Blut, das daraus kam, wurde Opferblut (*hlaut*) genannt, und Opferblutgefäße (*hlautbollar*) das, worin jenes Blut stand; und Opferblutzweige (*hlautteinar*) das, was wie Weihwedel (*stǫklar*) geformt war. Damit sollte man alle „Opferaltäre" (*stallar*) röten und auch die Wände des Kulthauses, außen und innen, und dann die Menschen besprengen. Das Fleisch aber sollte man zum Festessen kochen. Feuer mit Kesseln (*katlar*) darüber sollten auf dem Boden mitten im Kulthaus brennen. Man sollte einen Becher (*full*) um das Feuer herumtragen und derjenige, der das Opfermahl veranstaltete und zugleich Häuptling war, sollte dann den Becher und die Opferspeise (*blótmatr*) segnen (*signa*). Erst den Trunk (*full*) auf Odin — den sollte man auf den Sieg und auf die Herrschaft des Königs trinken — und darauf den Trunk auf Njord und Frey für gute Ernte und Frieden (*til árs ok friðar*).Viele Männer hatten auch die Gewohnheit, danach den Bragetrunk (*Braga full*) zu trinken, die Männer tranken auch die Trünke auf ihre Verwandten, auf diejenigen, die in den Grabhügel gelegt waren, und das wurde Erinnerungsbecher (*minni*) genannt.

Der Abschnitt (Kap. 14) endet mit einer Lobpreisung der Gastfreundschaft Sigurd Jarls, und Snorri hebt dabei als Beispiel das große Festmahl in Lade hervor, das er im Kapitel 17 dann näher schildert. Zur Bestätigung des freigebigen Charakters des Jarls zitiert er schließlich eine Strophe aus der Sigurdsdrapa von Kormak Ögmundarson.

Das Kapitel 14 fügt sich in einen bestimmten Erzählzusammenhang (Kap. 13–18) ein, der den Konflikt zwischen Hakon dem Guten und den Bauern in Tröndelag darstellt. Hakon, der eine christliche Erziehung bei König Ethelstan in England erhalten hat, wünscht bei seiner Rückkehr, die Norweger zum Christentum zu bekehren (Kap. 13). Bei dem Frostathing in Tröndelag stößt er jedoch auf hartnäckigen Widerstand von seiten der Bauern, die darauf bestehen, daß der König mit ihnen an den Opferfeiern teilnehmen müsse (Kap. 15). Sigurd Jarl tritt nun ein, um den Streit zu schlichten, und rät dem König, den Willen der Bauern zu erfüllen, jedoch ohne daß er alles mitmache, was der Verlauf der Opferzeremonie verlange (Kap. 16). Snorri erwähnt dann zwei Opferfeiern (Kap. 17 und

Kap. 18), bei denen der König wider seinen Willen gewisse Kulthandlungen ausführen muß, und Snorri bringt von diesen Opferfesten einige Szenen. Bei dem ersten Fest, das sich in Lade im Herbst abspielte, wurde der König vom Jarl aufgefordert, sich auf den Hochsitz zu setzen (*var ok svá, at konungr sat í hásæti sínu*), was eine klare kultische Bedeutung hatte. Als der erste Trunk eingeschenkt war, sprach der Jarl und weihte ihm dem Odin, und trank dem König zu, aber dieser machte dann das Kreuzeszeichen (*krossmark*) über den Becher. Einer der Bauerhäuptlinge nahm daran Anstoß und sagte: „Warum tut nun der König so, will er nicht anbeten (*blóta*)?" Sigurd Jarl griff vermittelnd ein und sagte, daß der König nur so tue wie „alle diejenigen, die an ihre eigene Macht und Stärke glauben und ihren Becher auf Thor segnen (*signa*). Er machte das Hammerszeichen (*hamarsmark*), ehe er trank." Mit dieser Erklärung fanden sich die Bauern ab.

Snorri gibt dann eine zweite Szene vom Opferfest in Lade. Am nächsten Tag verlangten die Bauern, daß der König vom Pferdefleisch (*hrossaslátr*) esse, was er unter keinen Umständen wollte. Darauf baten sie ihn, vom Sud (*soðit*) zu trinken, was er auch ablehnte. Dann bat man ihn, vom Fett (*flotit*) zu essen, aber der König hielt an seiner Weigerung fest. Wiederum trat der Jarl vermittelnd ein und bat den König nur, über dem Henkel des Kessels mit Opferspeise den Mund zu öffnen (*gína yfir ketilhǫdduna*). Der König band dann ein Leinentuch um den Kesselhenkel und hielt den Mund offen darüber und „ging darauf zum Hochsitz, und es gefiel allen gut".

Die letzte Auseinandersetzung zwischen Hakon und den Tröndbauern geschah laut Snorri um die Zeit des Julfests in Mære, einem anderen Hauptsitz der Tränder weiter landeinwärts am Fjord gelegen. Bei dem Festmahl baten die Bauern den König, die Götter anzubeten (*blóta*), wenn nicht, sollte er bestraft werden. Ein bewaffneter Zusammenstoß drohte, aber durch erneutes Eingreifen des Jarls Sigurd wurde die Situation gerettet. Der König kostete etwas von der Pferdeleber und trank alle Erinnerungsbecher, diesmal ohne Kreuzeszeichen: *drakk hann þá ǫll minni krossalaust.* Der König verließ nach dieser Demütigung im Zorn Drontheim, fest entschlossen, mit einer grösseren Heeresmacht zurückzukommen. Damit beendet Snorri die Schilderung von Hakons Versuch, die Bauern in Tröndelag zum Christentum zu bekehren.

Snorris Erwähnungen des Opferkults in Tröndelag verteilen sich also erstens auf einen einleitenden Abschnitt in Kap. 14, der den allgemeinen Ablauf eines „heidnischen" Opferrituals zusammenfaßt, und zweitens auf einige „wirkliche" Szenen aus einem Opfermahl, von denen zwei sich auf

das Fest in Lade beziehen (Kap. 17) und eine auf das Fest in Mære (Kap. 18). Nun hat, wie Düwel betont, der einleitende Abschnitt in Kap. 14 die Funktion, den Lesern eine allgemeine Einführung in den vorchristlichen Opferkult zu geben, die dem Verfasser dann „den steten Rückbezug auf einzelne Akte der Kultfeier" erlaubt.[6]

Die Eyrbyggjasaga enthält eine Darstellung des alten Opferkultes, die der Schilderung Snorris in Heimskringla sehr ähnelt, aber auch Details über das Aussehen des Kultgebäudes bietet. Kapitel 4 der Saga beschreibt die Landnahme von Thorolf Mostrarskägg auf Island. Er hat seine Hochsitzpfeiler aus der norwegischen Heimat mitgebracht und wirft sie über Bord, als er Land sichtet. In einen von ihnen war ein Bild von Thor geschnitzt. An der Stelle, wo die Pfeiler an das Ufer gelangen, sollen Thorolf und seine Begleiter das Land in Besitz nehmen. Thorolf baut ein Gehöft, das er Hofstaðir nannte. Dann fährt die Saga fort:

Eyrbyggjasaga Kap. 4 (mittlerer Teil).

Dort ließ er ein Kulthaus (*hof*) aufführen, und das war ein großes Gebäude. Es gab eine Tür an den Langseiten, und zwar nahe an der einen Kurzseite. Drinnen standen die Hochsitzpfeiler und darauf waren Nägel. Sie wurden Götternägel (*reginnaglar*) genannt. Alles drinnen galt als geschützter Platz. Weiter innen im Kulthaus gab es einen Raum von ähnlicher Art wie jetzt der Chor in der Kirche, und dort stand der Opferaltar (*stalli*) mitten auf dem Boden, wie ein Kirchenaltar (*altari*), und darauf lag ein Ring aus einem Stück geschmiedet, der zwanzig Unzen schwer war, und auf ihn sollte man alle Eide schwören. Den Ring sollte der Kulthäuptling (*hofgoði*) bei allen Volksversammlungen an seinem Arm (oder: in seiner Hand) tragen. Auf dem Opferaltar sollte auch ein Opferblutgefäß (*hlautbolli*) stehen und darin ein Opferblutzweig (*hlautteinn*) nach der Art eines Weihwedels (*stǫkkull*). Damit sollte man das Blut, das Opferblut (*hlaut*) genannt wurde, aus den Gefäßen verspritzen. Das war solches Blut, das man von den geschlachteten Tieren auffing, die man den Göttern als Gabe mitgebracht hatte. Rings um den Opferaltar im Innenraum (*afhús*) hatte man die Götter aufgestellt. Alle sollten an das Kulthaus Abgaben entrichten und dem Kulthäuptling zu allen Fahrten verpflichtet sein, wie jetzt die Dingmänner ihren Häuptlingen. Der Kulthäuptling (*goði*) aber sollte das Kulthaus aus eigenen Mitteln unterhalten, damit es nicht verfiel, und darin Opferfeste (*blótveizlur*) veranstalten.

Die Kjalnesingasaga Kap. 2 enthält eine ähnliche Schilderung wie die Eyrbyggjasaga, bringt aber im wesentlichen nichts Neues und erscheint außerdem als ein spätes Werk von geringem Quellenwert (vgl. Sigfússon 1981). Diese Saga wird im folgenden nur gelegentlich berücksichtigt.

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[6] Das wird richtig von Düwel 1985: 20 hervorgehoben. Das verhindert nicht, daß Snorri auch ein historisches Interesse am vorchristlichen Opferkult hatte.

Kritik der altisländischen Kultberichte

Alle drei Berichte geben vor, Ereignisse und rituelle Verhälnisse des 10. Jahrhunderts darzustellen, sind aber erst im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts verfaßt worden, die Kjalnesingasaga am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts. Die Frage der Quellen und der Zuverlässigkeit der Überlieferung drängt sich also auf und wird hier in den Blickpunkt gerückt.

Snorris Schilderung mit der Darstellung des Rituals in Kap. 14 und den Szenen aus dem Opfergelage in Kap. 17 und 18 ist die ausführlichste und wohl auch die älteste[7] und wird hier der Diskussion zugrunde gelegt. Für den Abschnitt Kap. 13–18 in der Saga von Hakon dem Guten, welcher deutlich eine literarische Einheit bildet (vgl. auch Düwel 1985: 18), standen Snorri sicherlich verschiedene Quellen zur Verfügung, aber in den Beschreibungen der Opferfeiern scheint er nicht viele Einzelheiten in seinen schriftlichen Quellen vorgefunden zu haben[8]. Man könnte annehmen, daß er in Bezug auf den Opferkult auch mündliches Erzählgut bei seinen Reisen nach Norwegen aufgegriffen habe, aber in diesem Fall kommt man nicht über Mutmaßungen hinaus. Die Zuverlässigkeit Snorris muß also auf andere Wege geprüft werden.

Wie Baetke und Walter gesehen haben, kann die Trunkszene in Kap. 17 wenig Glaubwürdigkeit als ein Stück kultischer Realität aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert beanspruchen (Baetke 1951: 28; Walter 1966: 363–67).[9] Der Terminus *signa*, der sich auch in der Ritualbeschreibung Kap. 14 findet, ist ein christlich-lateinisches Lehnwort, das aber wohl früh in das Altnordische übernommen wurde.[10] Der christliche Ursprung von *signa,* das in

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[7] Die Priorität Snorris wird von Düwel 1985: 6, 10–11 ausdrücklich hervorgehoben. Das Verhältnis der Tempelschilderungen in Eyrbyggjasaga und Heimskringla scheint mir nicht restlos geklärt zu sein. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, im Vorwort § 2 zur Ausgabe der Saga in Íslenzk fornrit meint, eine gemeinsame Quelle liege den beiden Berichten zugrunde. Was die Schilderung der Blutriten betrifft, ist aber eine Abhängigkeit der Eyrbyggjasaga von Heimskringla wahrscheinlich. Die Saga von Hakon dem Guten ist um 1230 geschrieben; die Eyrbyggjasaga fällt in die Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts (vgl. Jakobsen 1987; Perkins 1991). Die Kjalnesingasaga schließlich gehört sicher zur jüngeren Schicht der Familiensagas (vgl. Sigfússon 1981).

[8] An literarischen Quellen, aus denen Snorri geschöpft haben mag, kommen in erster Linie Ágrip und Fagrskinna in Betracht und außerdem die beiden lateinischen Geschichtswerke Historia Norvegiae und Theodricus' Historia de antiquitate regum Norvagiensium. In diesen Schriften findet man fast keine Detailkenntnis über die von Snorri erwähnten Opferfeste in Lade und Mære; vgl. auch Walter 1966: 360–362; Düwel 1985: 20.

[9] Schon Steenstrup 1929 bestritt die historische Echtheit der Szene, in der Jarl Sigurd das Kreuzeszeichen des Königs als das Hammerszeichen erklärte.

[10] Walter 1966: 364 meint, daß man nichts Genaueres darüber weiß, „wie und wann

seiner Verwendung auch dem kirchlich-rituellen *benedicare* entspricht, besagt, daß dieser Terminus nicht als echt vorchristliches Ritualwort gedient haben kann, wenn man nicht annimmt, daß das Wort vor der Wikingerzeit Aufnahme gefunden habe und im altskandinavischen Kultus dann verwendet worden sei. Dafür gibt es aber keine Belege und eine solche Entlehnung kommt mir auch unwahrscheinlich vor.[11] Das Wort *hamarsmark,* an dieser Stelle erstmalig bezeugt, ist deutlich dem christlichen Begriff *krossmark* nachgebildet und es ist zumindest zweifelhaft, ob man im vorchristlichen Skandinavien eine symbolische Gebärde in der Hammerform machte wie die Christen das Kreuzeszeichen (Steenstrup 1929: 45; Walter 1966: 365–66). Gleichfalls erklärt sich die Wendung *hann gerði hamarsmark yfir* als eine Nachbildung des Ausdrucks *gera krossmark,* der seinerseits aus dem lateinischen *signum crucis facere* herzuleiten ist (Walter 1966: 366). Die Erklärung Jarl Sigurds, daß der König nur so tat wie diejenigen, die an ihre eigene Stärke und Macht glaubten und ihren Becher für Thor segneten, enthält einen klaren Widerspruch und verrät die Hand des Verfassers Snorri, der damit eine besondere erzählerische Wirkung erzielen wollte.[12] Dabei gebraucht Snorri einen bei christlichen Autoren beliebten Topos über die „Heiden" oder „Barbaren", die in ihrem Hochmut nur an die eigene Kraft glauben (vgl. Weber 1981; See 1988: 94–95).[13]

Ferner erscheint die eindrucksvolle Szene vom Kosten des Opferfleisches

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das Wort im Norden Aufnahme gefunden hat". Die Entlehnung gehört aber sicherlich der frühen Missionszeit an; das Wort *signa* findet sich auf einem uppländischen Runenstein aus dem elften Jahrhundert (U 942). Die Inschrift mit *signa* im Dom von Nidaros fällt ins zwölfte Jahrhundert (auch I, 53)

[11] Das Wort *signa* erscheint zwar in dem Eddagedicht Sigrdrífumál Str. 8 im Ausdruck *full skal signa.* Diese Strophe und wohl auch die Kompilation des ganzen Gedichts gehört in die Periode, in der das Christentum im Norden schon eingebürgert war; vgl. zu Strophe 8 Walter 1966: 364.

[12] Das ist klar von Walter 1966: 367 gesehen: „der Glaube an die eigene Kraft hat die Verehrung von Göttern in kultischen Handlungen, also auch die Verehrung Thors, wohl stets ausgeschlossen". Ähnlich auch Weber 1981. Walter bemerkt ferner, daß ein mittelniederdeutsches Lehnwort *skenkja* „(einen Trunk) schenken" sich in die Erzählung Snorris im c. 17 eingeschlichen hat. Das Wort „mag bei Snorri und seinen Zeitgenossen einen gewissen festlichen, (aus der Fremde kommenden) feierlichen Klang gehabt haben" (Walter 1966: 367).

[13] Die Formel *trúa á mátt sinn ok megin* galt lange Zeit als echter Ausdruck einer bestimmten altskandinavischen oder altgermanischen Mentalität, sie steht aber unter dem Verdacht, nicht mehr als ein weit verbreitetes Barbaren- und Heidenclichè zu sein. Der Topos kann dazu verwendet werden, sowohl den gottwidrigen Hochmut der „Heiden" oder „Barbaren" zu denunzieren als auch die „heidnischen" Vorfahren als edle Helden zu charakterisieren; siehe dazu Weber 1981; Simek 1984: 257–58; See 1988: 89–96.

durch den König (Kap. 17), die in einem kunstfertigen Dreierschritt aufgebaut ist (vgl. Düwel 1985: 19), großenteils als eine eigene Schöpfung Snorris aus einer bestimmten Darstellungsabsicht heraus.[14]

In der Szene aus dem Opferfest in Mære (Kap. 18) verwertet Snorri zwar älteres Traditionsgut, das er aber mit neuen Einzelheiten schmückt. Sowohl das Ágrip als auch die Fagrskinna, die beide vor der Zeit Snorris verfaßt wurden, erwähnen eine Kultfeier in Mære, bei der die Tröndbauern den König dazu zwingen, eine Opferhandlung auszuführen (siehe weiter unten).

Die Darstellung des Opferrituals bei den Tröndern in Kap. 14 erweckt beim ersten Anblick einen zuverlässigen Eindruck durch die ritualtechnischen Termini und die genauen Angaben über Kulthandlungen.[15] Die gründliche wortgeschichtliche Untersuchung dieser Termini, die man bei Düwel (1985) findet, ergibt aber, daß es sich bei den meisten von ihnen keineswegs um altererbte kultische Ausdrücke handelt. Die Wörter *hlaut* und *hlautteinn* in der Bedeutung „Opferblut" beziehungsweise „Opferblutzweig" sind nicht als vorchristliche Termini sicher belegt und scheinen eine Uminterpretation durch Snorri selbst zu sein, ausgehend von *hlaut* in der Bedeutung „(Opfer)Los" und *hlautteinn* als „Loszweig" (Düwel 1985: 21–32; vgl. auch Simek 1984: 182–183)[16]. Beide Wörter sind in dieser nicht-christlichen Verwendung klar bezeugt (Hymiskviða 1, Vǫluspá 63, Lausavisa von Thorvald Kodransson); die Losbefragung war ja bei den Germanen ein beliebter Divinationsritus. Damit entfällt auch die Grundlage für *hlautbolli* „Opferblutkessel" als genuin vorchristlicher Terminus (Düwel 1985: 33). Auch *stallr* und *stalli* können nicht mit Sicherheit als vorchristliche Bezeichnungen für „Opferaltar" nachgewiesen werden. Für *stallr* muß man laut Düwel die Grundbedeutung „Gestell" ansetzen, und das Wort erhält in der nicht-christlichen Dichtung eine sakrale Bedeutung erst durch einen Zusatz wie z.B. in *véstallr*, und es ist dann nicht unbedingt an einen Altar zu denken (Düwel 1985: 38–40). Das Wort *stalli* dagegen kommt in der frühen Poesie nicht vor, sondern ist

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[14] So Düwel 1985: 20, der betont daß „die Dramatik des Geschehens" für Snorri viel wichtiger war, als einen Einblick in die Bekehrungsgeschichte Norwegens zu geben.

[15] So begründet z.B. Ström 1966: 330 seine Zuversicht, ein authentisches Bild der Opferrituale aus den Quellen gewinnen zu können: „Die Anhaltspunkte unseres Wissens über die Opferriten sind einige technische Ausdrücke, die am wenigstens in Verdacht kommen, christliches Lehngut zu sein, weil sie überhaubt in christlichen Zusammenhängen keine Verwendung und keine Parallelen haben."

[16] Schon Jan de Vries war sich darüber klar, daß für *hlaut* und *hlautteinar* „irgendeine Bedeutungsverschiebung stattgefunden hat": vom ursprünglichen „Los" und „Losstäbe" zum „Opferblut" und „Opferblutzweige" (Vries 1957: 417).

erst in christlicher Zeit aufgekommen, um den Opferaltar der polytheistischen Religionen zu bezeichnen (Düwel 1985: 41–47). Die altisländische Literatur unterscheidet streng zwischen dem christlichen *altari* und dem „heidnischen" *stallr* oder *stalli,* wie die Eyrbyggjasaga Kap. 4 zeigt.

Die Kulthandlungen, die sich laut Snorri auf das Opferblut bezogen, das Röten der „Altäre" und der Wände des Kulthauses sowie das Besprengen der Kultgemeinde mit dem Blut, sind in früheren Notizen über altgermanische Opferpraxis nicht bezeugt, sondern Snorris Schilderung sei eher von alttestamentlichen Opfertexten inspiriert, die schon im frühen Mittelalter gewissermaßen als Vorformen kirchlicher Riten galten (Düwel 1985: 35–36). Snorri sei anscheinend bestrebt, die „heidnische" Kultpraxis so zu schildern, daß der Abstand zwischen der natürlichen Religion seiner Vorfahren und dem Christentum seiner Zeitgenossen so klein wie möglich erscheine (Düwel 1985: 127).

Auch die detaillierte Beschreibung, die Snorri vom kultischen Trinken gibt, ist angezweifelt worden (Olsen 1966: 60; Holtsmark 1970: 42; und vor allem Düwel 1985). Snorri habe das Trinkzeremoniell der mittelalterlichen Gilden gekannt und es auf die „heidnische" Vorzeit projiziert. Er konnte dabei an den Begriff *full* anknüpfen, der ihm aus der altnordischen Dichtung bekannt war, aber dessen präzise Bedeutung zu seiner Zeit unklar geworden war. Erst in nachchristlicher Zeit hat sich die Bedeutung „Becher" eingebürgert[17]. Das Wort *minni* in der Bedeutung „Trunk" sowie das Minnetrinken sind von den schon bekehrten Germanenvölker in den Norden gelangt. Der vorchristliche Ursprung dieses kontinentalen Minnetrinkens wird von Düwel stark angezweifelt. Die Formeln *til sigrs ok ríkis konungi sínum* und *til árs ok friðar,* die laut Snorri den Trunk auf die Götter begleiteten, hätten keine altskandinavische Vorbilder, sondern seien als Rückprojektionen christlicher Segnungen, besonders beim Minnetrinken, zu erklären.

Zusammenfassend stellt Klaus Düwel also fest, daß die Schilderung Snorris vom Opferfest in Lade eine erzählerische Rekonstruktion sei, die sich weder auf mündliche Überlieferung noch auf schriftliche Quellen stützen könne. Die Tempelbeschreibungen in Eyrbyggjasaga und in der noch späteren Kjalnesingasaga sind laut Düwel von Snorris Heimskringla abhängig und haben somit keinen selbstständigen Quellenwert. Wenn man die Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen Olsens und Düwels zusammenhält,

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[17] Das Wort *full* erscheint in Kenningar für den Dichtermet und kann wahrscheinlich sowohl den Trank als auch das Gefäß und die darin enthaltene Flüssigkeit bezeichnen (Düwel 1985: 71–72, 120).

wird es klar, daß unsere Kenntnisse altskandinavischer Opferrituale und Kultgebäude in eine neue und problematischere Lage gekommen sind.

Die Frage der Kultgebäude oder Tempel im vorchristlichen Norden, die Olaf Olsen (1966) so eingehend überprüft hat, wird im folgenden nur am Rande gestreift, weil es die Kulthandlungen sind, die den Hauptgegenstand der vorliegenden Studie bilden. Ich möchte hier einige, zum Teil kritische Bemerkungen zur Diskussion über die altskandinavischen Opferrituale vorlegen, und etwas ausführlicher die Formel *ár ok friðr* behandeln. Dabei geht es in erster Linie um das Problem der Zuverlässigkeit der auf uns gekommenen Quellen. Mein Ausgangspunkt ist im wesentlichen religionsgeschichtlich, aber natürlich läßt sich die philologische Argumentation davon nicht trennen.

Genuine und rekonstruierte Elemente in den altisländischen Kultberichten

Nach den Untersuchungen von Olsen (1966; 1970), Walter (1966), Holtsmark (1970) und vor allem Düwel (1985) ist daran festzuhalten, daß die Kultberichte Snorris und der Eyrbyggja- und Kjalnesingasagas hauptsächlich literarische Rekonstruktionen darstellen, deren religionsgeschichtlicher Wert durch den Mangel an autenthischen Überlieferungen als unsicher erscheint. Zentrale Elemente des geschilderten Opfervorgangs, wie das Besprengen der Kultgemeinde mit dem Opferblut und die Verwendung von Opferblutzweigen bei diesem Kultakt, scheinen eine reale Grundlage zu entbehren. Die Begriffe *hlaut, hlauttein* und *hlautbolli* in der Bedeutung „Opferblut", „Opferblutzweig" und „Opferblutkessel" können wohl nicht länger als technische Termini der vorchristlichen Opferpraxis angesehen werden. Dasselbe gilt für das Wort *minni* in der Bedeutung „Erinnerungsbecher", soweit es in einen vorchristlichen Kontext versetzt wird. Das rituelle Trinkzeremoniell eines altskandinavischen Opfergelages, wie es Snorri in der Saga von Hakon dem Guten schildert, enthält Züge, die wenig geschichtliche Glaubwürdigkeit beanspruchen können. Dagegen sind andere Elemente in der Schilderung Snorris nicht so leicht als freie Rekonstruktion oder als christliche Formeln zu erklären.

Einige allgemeine Bemerkungen mögen an dieser Stelle angebracht sein, bevor einzelne Momente des Opfervorganges besprochen werden. Man muß sich darüber im klaren sein, daß man es für die Wikingerzeit eher mit einer großen Variation von Opferritualen zu tun hat, als mit einem

in allen Einzelheiten fest geregelten Ritual, das über den ganzen skandinavischen Raum verbreitet gewesen wäre. Die altskandinavische Religion hatte ja keine zentrale Organisation und keine fixierte Liturgie wie die römische Kirche, sondern jeder Kultplatz hatte höchstwahrscheinlich seine eigenen Rituale, die als lokale oder regionale Ausgestaltungen gewisser Grundelemente verstanden werden müssen. Diese Rituale waren sicher ihrem Vorstellungsinhalt nach auch verschieden, da die Kultfeiern dem Wechsel der Jahreszeiten angepaßt waren. Die Vielfalt lokaler Kultrituale in einer ethnischen Religion des vorchristlichen Europas zeigt uns deutlich Pausanias' Beschreibung von Griechenland im zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert, und sie kann als gutes Modell dafür dienen, wie man sich das Spektrum der altskandinavischen Opferrituale zu denken hat.

Das Opferfest, das Snorri in seinem allgemeinen Ablauf schildert, sollte dann in erster Linie als ein Trönder Ritual gedeutet werden. Natürlich hängt diese Interpretation davon ab, in welchem Grad man Snorris Schilderung als Rekonstruktion ohne authentische Grundlage auffaßt. Da die Eyrbyggjasaga eine fast identische Darstellung der Handhabung des Opferblutes gibt, könnte man annehmen, daß für dieses Moment derselbe Ritus auf Island in Brauch war. Doch ist hier eher auf eine literarische Abhängigkeit der Eyrbyggjasaga zu schließen. Dagegen vermittelt die Eyrbyggjasaga eine unabhängige Tradition in der Schilderung des Kultgebäudes, und die religionsgeschichtliche Zuverlässigkeit dieser Tradition muß folglich für sich untersucht werden. Jedenfalls darf man nicht davon ausgehen, daß die Darstellung des Opferrituals in der Saga von Hakon dem Guten allgemeine Gültigkeit für ganz Skandinavien besitzt.

Noch ein Umstand verdient Beachtung. Obgleich die rituellen Termini, die Snorri verwendet, nicht alle als authentisch vorchristlich gesichert sind, kann man daraus nicht den Schluß ziehen, daß es die Sachen nicht gegeben habe, welche die Wörter bezeichnen.[18] Das muß unabhängig vom Ursprung der Termini festgestellt werden. Diesen Sachverhalt erkennt natürlich auch Düwel an, aber er drückt ihn in sehr allgemeinen Wendungen aus[19]. Um ein Beispiel zu geben, wurde, wie Düwel betont, das Wort *stalli* „Altar" in vorchristlicher Zeit nicht gebraucht, aber das Vorkommen eines entsprechenden Gegenstands für das rituelle Schlachten

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[18] Ähnlich argumentiert richtig Meulengracht Sørensen 1991: 239.

[19] Ich zitiere: „Damit soll nun keineswegs grundsätzlich die Existenz von germanischen Opferveranstaltungen und Tempelkulten bezweifelt werden. Nur kann nach meiner Auffassung Snorris Schilderung nicht mehr als tradiertes Zeugnis für die Einzelheiten in Ablauf und Gestaltung des nordgermanischen, geschweige denn des germanischen Tempelkultes gelten" (Düwel 1985: 119).

oder für die rituelle Übergabe der Opfermaterie an die Gottheit ist in einem Opferkultus sehr wahrscheinlich. In der Tat scheint ein solcher Gegenstand auf einem der gotländischen Bildsteine abgebildet zu sein (Fig. 1). Der Stein enthält im oberen Teil eine rituelle Szene, die sich im Mythos oder in der Wirklichkeit abgespielt haben mag. In der Mitte sieht man ein Gestell und darauf eine Menschengestalt; das Gestell ist von zwei Männern umgeben, und die ganze Szene erweckt den Eindruck einer Opferveranstaltung. Das Gestell, das auf dem Bildstein abgebildet ist, könnte dem kultischen Gegenstand *stalli* oder *stallr* nahekommen,[20] den Snorri und der Verfasser der Eyrbyggjasaga erwähnen. Problematisch bleibt aber die Identifikation dieses Gegenstands mit einem Opferaltar. Wenn *stalli* oder *stallr* eine Konstruktion für das Schlachten der Opfertiere bezeichnete, würde diese wohl kaum drinnen im *hof* zu suchen sein. Es könnte aber ein Gestell sein, auf dem man etwa gewisse Teile des Opfertieres zur Übergabe an die Gottheit legte oder auf dem sich irgendein Kult- oder Göttersymbol befand (vgl. auch Olsen 1966: 61). Diese Konstruktion könnte den Namen *stallr* tragen, der in der vorchristlichen Überlieferung belegt ist, aber in der Bedeutung „Altar" nicht gesichert ist. Snorri spricht, ohne Vergleich mit einem Kirchenaltar, von *stallana* im Plural, was nicht so gut zu einer Bedeutung „Altar" passt, und es ist durchaus möglich, daß er an eine andere Art von Kultgegenständen als an einen Altar dachte; Alfred Jakobsen schlägt einen Sockel oder irgendein Gestell vor, auf dem die Götter saßen oder standen (Jakobsen 1987: 224). Der Verfasser der Eyrbyggjasaga wollte anscheinend das Wort *stallana,* das er bei Snorri vorfand, näher bestimmen und machte deshalb die Gleichsetzung mit dem Altar einer Kirche. Seine Beschreibung des *hof* erweckt übrigens den Eindruck, dem Grundplan einer christlichen Kirche nachgebildet zu sein. Snorri scheint über diesen Punkt besser unterrichtet gewesen zu sein.

Der Opfervorgang

Es fällt auf, daß der Opfervorgang bei Snorri nur fragmentarisch beschrieben ist. Er richtet sein Interesse auf das rituelle Handhaben des Opferblutes und auf das Trinkzeremoniell. Ein Opfervorgang ist aber ein rituelles

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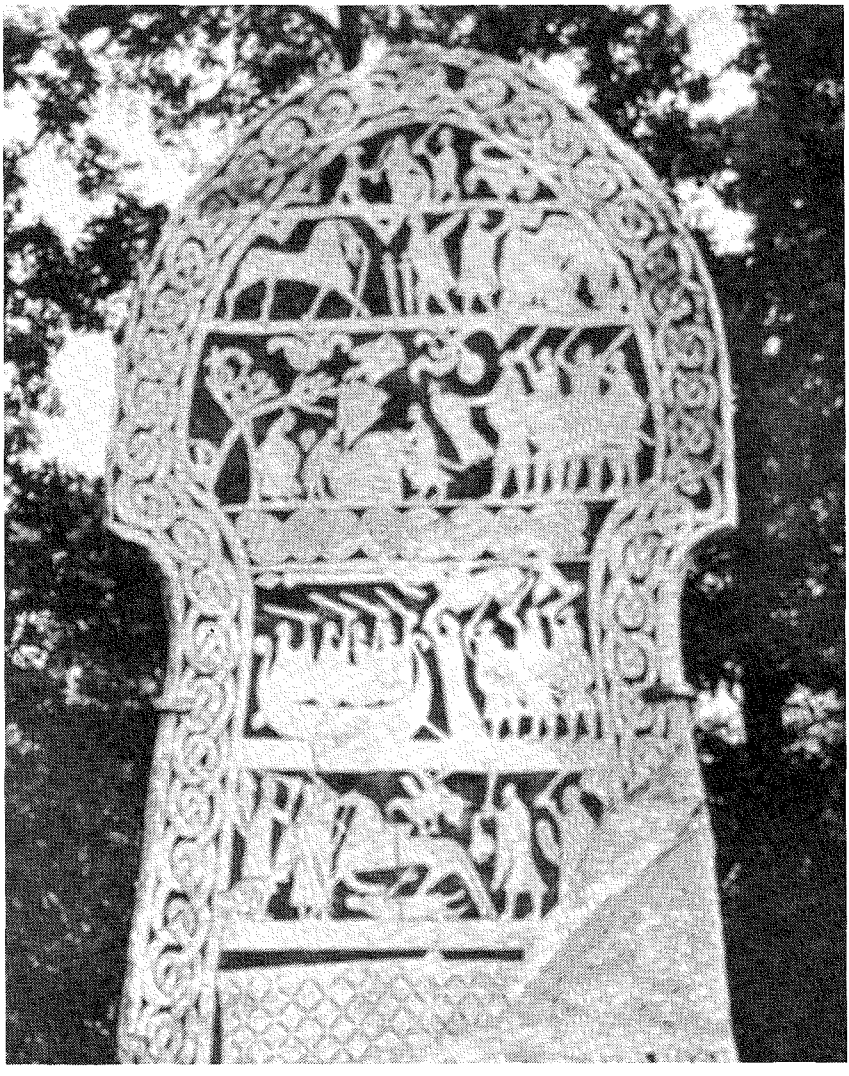
[20] Die Form *stallana* bei Snorri kann sowohl auf *stalli* als auch auf *stallr* zurückgeführt werden.



Figur 1. Der obere Teil von dem Bildstein Hammars (I) in Lärbro, Gotland (Lindqvist 1941: Fig. 81).

Geschehen, das mehrere Einzelriten umfaßt und das mit anderen Kulthandlungen verbunden sein kann. Zur Beschreibung eines Opferrituals gehören auch Angaben über die Opfermaterie.

Der Knappheit an altskandinavischen Quellen, die Snorris Bild eines Opferfestes bestätigen könnten, läßt sich zum Teil durch vergleichendes Material aus anderen Religionen abhelfen. Eine solche religions-geschichtliche

Bewertung hat natürlich ihre Grenzen, sie vermag aber immerhin die Glaubwürdigkeit der Darstellung Snorris zu unterbauen oder zu entkräften. Zusammen mit vereinzelten zuverlässigen Notizen der altskandinavischen Überlieferung ergibt der religionsgeschichtliche Vergleich eine ziemlich gute Grundlage für eine Bewertung der Angaben Snorris. Dabei sollte man den vergleichenden Stoff in erster Linie aus den Religionen des alten Europa und des vorderen Orients heranziehen.

Von den Blutriten, die bei Snorri und in der Eyrbyggjasaga erwähnt werden, kommt mir das Besprengen der Teilnehmer mit Opferblutzweigen als verdächtig vor (vgl. auch Holtsmark 1970: 42; Simek 1984: 181–182; Düwel 1985: 34–36, 119). Der Verfasser der Eyrbyggjasaga ist schon vorsichtiger, indem er nur das Verspritzen des Opferblutes mit dem Opferblutzweig erwähnt, nicht aber das, was besprengt werden sollte. Die Anregung zu seiner Beschreibung dürfte Snorri, wie Düwel vermutet, dem Alten Testament (Exodus 12 und 24) entnommen haben, oder aber die Szene mit der Besprengung der Kultteilnehmer dürfte „der Phantasie der hochmittelalterlichen christlichen Autoren entsprungen sein" (Simek 1984: 181–182). Das Opferritual des jüdischen Tempelkultus kennt kein Verspritzen des Blutes auf die Kultgemeinde, und ein solcher Ritus ist bei den Völkern des alten Europas und des alten Orients nur schwach belegt.[21] Dagegen erscheint das Röten der *stallar* und der Wände des Kultgebäudes mit dem Opferblut als religionsgeschichtlich glaubwürdiger. Die Besprengung des Brandopferaltars mit dem Blut der geopferten Tiere war ein wichtiges Moment im jüdischen Tempelkult (vgl. Hultgård 1987: 89). In den meisten griechischen Opferritualen wurde das Opferblut auf den Altar gegossen oder gegen den Altar verspritzt.[22] Das altarmenische Tieropfer, von der Kirche in leicht abgewandelter Form sanktioniert und noch praktisiert, enthielt ursprünglich sowohl das Röten des Opferaltars und der Wände des Heiligtums. Heute werden in Armenien nur die Außenwände beim Eingangstor der Kirche mit dem Opferblut gerötet, wie ich es selbst 1970 beobachtet habe.

Das Färben sakraler Gegenstände mit dem Opferblut kann durch andere skandinavische Belege gestützt werden, die meiner Ansicht nach genuine

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[21] Die Beschreibung eines israelitischen Bundesrituals in Exodus 24: 4–9 erwähnt, daß Moses zwölf Stiere opferte und ihr Blut teils auf den Altar, teils auf das Volk verspritzte. Hier haben wir es mit einem semitischen Bundesschließen zu tun, in welchem die Besprengung mit dem Opferblut ein symbolisches Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zwischen den Kontrahenten schafft. Es ist wahrscheinlich diese Stelle des Exodus, in der Form der Vulgata oder einer altisländischer Übersetzung, die Snorri inspiriert hat; vgl. oben.

[22] Siehe z.B. Pausanias VIII, 2: 3. Der griechische Opfervorgang wird bei Burkert 1983: 3–7 zusammengefaßt.

Traditionen vermitteln. Das Eddagedicht Hyndlulioð, das zwar ziemlich spät kompiliert ist, aber ältere mythisch-rituellen Traditionen verwertet, läßt die Göttin Freya von Ottar sagen:

hǫrg hann mér gerði,	Er machte mir einen *hǫrg*
hlaðinn steinum,	von Steinen aufgebaut,
nú er griót þat	nun ist der Steinhaufen
at gleri orðit,	glatt wie Glas geworden,
rauð hann í nýju	er rötete ihn mit frischem
nauta bloði,	Blut von Stieren,
æ trúði Óttarr	immer verließ sich Ottar
á ásyniur.	auf die Göttinnen.
	Hyndlulioð 10.

Der rituelle Inhalt dieser Strophe ist kaum als spätere Rekonstruktion anzusehen, und vielleicht spiegelt er altnorwegische Verhältnisse wieder.[23] Man kann natürlich darüber streiten, was hier mit *hǫrg* gemeint ist (vgl. Olsen 1966: 105), aber soviel ist klar, daß es sich um eine kultische Konstruktion handelt, die mit Opferblut gerötet wird.

Im Königskatalog der Hervarar Saga Kap. 20 (Heiðreks Saga 1924), der auf ostnordischen Traditionen beruht, die von dem Skalden Markus Skeggjason am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts nach Island vermittelt wurden (vgl. zuletzt Reifegerste 1989: 196–200), werden schwedische Herrscher aufgezählt. Der letzte Teil des Katalogs ist mehr erzählerisch und schildert den Konflikt zwischen Inge und Blot-Svein. Inge wurde von den Sviar vertrieben, die Blot-Svein zum König machten. Das wurde mit einer Art Kommunionsopfer bestätigt. Ein Pferd wurde auf den Thingplatz geführt, geschlachtet und das Fleisch zum Essen zubereitet, und mit dem Blut wurde das *blóttré* gerötet. Man kann das Wort *blóttré* als „Opferbaum" deuten (so Ström 1966; Reifegerste 1989), aber es mag auch „Opferholz" bedeuten und einen hölzernen Kultgegenstand bezeichnen, den man mit dem Opferblut rötete. Die Notiz des Königskatalogs in der Hervarar Saga über das Opfermahl bei den Sviar unter Blot-Svein hat keine Parallele in der altnordischen Literatur und scheint überlieferungsgeschichtlich gesehen ein zuverlässiges Element zu sein.

Ein zentrales Moment der meisten Opferrituale ist das gemeinsame Opfermahl, und seine Bedeutung wird gleichfalls von Snorri in der Saga von Hakon dem Guten stark hervorgehoben, sowohl in der allgemeinen Darstellung eines Opferfestes (Kap. 14) als auch in den Szenen aus zwei verschiedenen Opferfeiern, die er in den Kapiteln 17 und 18 bringt. Für

[23] Vgl. Holtsmarks zusammenfassende Bewertung der Hyndlulioð (Holtsmark 1981).

das Opfergelage sind wir fast ausschließlich auf Angaben bei Snorri angewiesen. Außer den Abschnitten in der Saga von Hakon dem Guten kommen vor allem einige Notizen in den Kapiteln 107–109 der Saga von Olof dem Heiligen in Betracht. Aus religionsgeschichtlicher Sicht enthält Snorris Darstellung einer *blótveizla* im Kapitel 14 an sich nichts Unwahrscheinliches. Die Kultteilnehmer versammeln sich an einem Kultplatz, bringen Opfertiere, Speise und Trank mit.[24] Die Tiere werden geschlachtet, die dazu bestimmten Opferelemente werden der Gottheit übergeben, und ein rituelles Mahl wird gehalten. Das rituelle Röten heiliger Gegenstände mit dem Opferblut vertritt in der Saga von Hakon dem Guten (Kap. 14) und der Eyrbyggjasaga (Kap. 4) das Moment der Übergabe der Opfermaterie an die Gottheit. Nun beweist natürlich die religionsphänomenologische Gültigkeit der Schilderung Snorris nicht die Authentizität seiner Schilderung, aber sie gewinnt an Wahrscheinlichkeit. Wie oben gesagt, finden sich relativ ausführliche Notizen über Opfergelage nur bei Snorri, aber es gibt einige unabhängige Quellenzeugnisse, die ein Opfermahl bei Skandinaviern bezeugen, obgleich sie es nicht näher beschreiben.

Ein wichtiger Hinweis scheint mir in Aris Íslendingabók vorzuliegen. Bei der Anahme des Christentums auf dem Allthing Islands wurden gewisse Zugeständnisse der „heidnischen" Partei vorläufig gemacht. In Bezug auf die Austragung von Kindern (*barna útburðr*) und das Essen von Pferdefleisch (*hrossakiǫtz át*) solle noch das alte Gesetz gelten. Einige Jahre später wurde auch diese Art von Heidentum (*sú heiðni*) abgeschafft, sagt Ari. Nun kann man die Bedeutung des Essens von Pferdefleisch nur richtig verstehen, wenn man es in den alten Opferkultus einsetzt (vgl. unten die Tradition von Hakon und der Pferdeleber). Die Notiz in dem Íslendingabok besagt, daß die Opfermahle mit Pferdefleisch so wichtig waren, daß ein rituelles Essen noch einige Jahre nach der Einführung des Christentums geduldet wurde.

Das Gutalag und die Gutasaga, die miteinander in enger Beziehung stehen und die beide wahrscheinlich aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts stammen,[25] enthalten kurze Notizen über den vorchristlichen Kultus der Gutar. Schon der Umstand, daß die einleitenden Worte des Gutalag dazu ermahnen, das „Heidentum" zu verneinen (*naika haiðnu*), und daß ein besonderes Kapitel (*af blōtan*) zum Verbot des alten Kultus

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[24] Vgl. auch Olsen 1966: 43: "Håkon den Godes saga afspejler sikkert en ægte tradition, når det berettes, at deltagerne i de store blótgilder hver for sig medbragte fortæring".

[25] Diese Datierung wird von Wessén (1981a; 1981b) gegeben und lässt sich auch durch neuere archäologische Ergebnisse stützen (vgl. Thunmark-Nylén 1989).

vonnöten war, zeigt, daß die altskandinavische Religion immer noch eine lebendige Realität zu der Zeit war, als das Gutalag verfaßt wurde. Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Angaben im Gutalag und in der Gutasaga über die vorchristliche Religion wird durch archäologische Funde bestärkt. Dabei wird deutlich, daß altskandinavische, „wikingerzeitliche" Begräbnisformen bis um 1200 in großem Umfang praktiziert wurden, parallel mit den christlichen Beerdigungen auf den Friedhöfen, die mit den dreißiger Jahren des 11. Jahrhunderts einsetzen (Thunmark-Nylén 1989). Zwei Kultgemeinden, die altskandinavische und die christliche, lebten also auf Gotland Seite an Seite bis zum Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts, als das Christentum die einzige offizielle Religion wurde, ein Ereignis, das im Gutalag seine gesetzliche Bestätigung fand. Die Bedeutung der Opfermahle kommt sowohl im Gutalag als auch in der Gutasaga klar zum Vorschein. Das Kapitel *af blōtan* verordnet, daß, wenn irgendjemand der Gottesverehrung mit Essen oder Trinken, das nicht christlicher Sitte folgt (*haizl nekkvara þā mið mati eða mið drykkju senni sum ai fylgir kristnum siði*)[26], für schuldig erklärt wird, er drei Mark den Männern der Kirche büßen soll. Die Gutasaga erzählt, daß die Gutar früher ihre Söhne und Töchter und auch ihr Vieh den Göttern weihten, zusammen mit Essen und Bier (*blōtaðu þair synum ok dytrum ok fileði mið mati ok mungāti*). Die Saga beschreibt dann die drei Ebenen der Opferfeste, die höchste für die ganze Insel, die regionale für die drei Landesteile und die lokale für ein kleineres Thinggebiet. Bei den lokalen Opferfesten mit Viehopfer, Essen und Bier war die Kultgemeinde kleiner; die Teilnehmer wurden „Opferbrüder" genannt, weil sie zusammen das Opferfleisch kochten und aßen: *En smeri þing hafðu mindri blōtan með fileði, mati ok mungāti sum haita suðnautar þī et þair suðu allir saman.* Man vergleiche die Wendung Snorris *en slátr skyldi sjóða til mannfagnaðar* bei der Darstellung des Opferfestes zu Lade in der Saga von Hakon dem Guten Kap. 14.

Adam von Bremens Schilderung des Uppsalakultus enthält Andeutungen der rituellen Gelage, welche die große neunjährliche Opferfeier begleiteten. Man pflegte bei dieser Art von Opferritual (*in eiusmodi ritu libationis*) Gesänge vorzuführen, die vielfältig und nach Adams Auffassung unsittlich seien (Gesta Hammarburg. IV,27). Der Terminus *ritus libationis* bezeichnet wohl das Opferfest mit Speise- und Trinkgelagen, bei denen die rituellen Gesänge ertönten. Ein Scholion zu diesem Abschnitt (IV,27) spricht von den Opfermahlen (*commessationes*), welche die Opfer begleiteten.

Snorri knüpft wiederholt seine Angaben über den Opferkultus an die

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[26] Der Text ist hier und in den folgenden Zitaten ins Altgutnische normalisiert.

hof, die man sich als Gehöfte von Häuptlingen oder Großbauern zu denken hat. Der große Raum des *hof* diente nicht nur den Bedürfnissen der Einwohner des Gehöfts, sondern dorthin kamen auch die Leute der Nachbarschaft, um Kultfeste zu feiern (vgl. die Definition von Olsen 1966: 94). Die Verlegung des Hauptkultus von Opfermooren, Quellen und kleinen Seen auf die *hof* hatte sich schon vor der Wikingerzeit vollzogen (vgl. Fabech 1991), und die archäologischen Funde unterstreichen die Bedeutung der *hof* als Kultgebäude (vgl. Gräslund 1992). Vielfach wurden kleine rituelle Goldbleche mit Menschen- oder Götterfiguren ("guldgubbar") in den ausgegrabenen Resten eben dieser Anlagen gefunden; die Funde zeigen den rituellen Gebrauch dieser Gebäude. Zur Zeit sind die Goldbleche von mehr als 24 Orten in Skandinavien bekannt, die allergrößte Zahl aus Gebäuden vom Typus des *hof* (Gräslund 1992). Die bekanntesten sind Helgö und Eskilstuna in Schweden, Borg und Mære in Norwegen. Der letztgenannte Ort ist ja bei Snorri der Schauplatz einer der beschriebenen Opferszenen. Bei der Ausgrabung des Gehöfts Borg auf den Lofoten kam neben dem gewöhnlichen Herd eine Konstruktion zu Tage, die als eine rituelle Feuerstätte gedeutet wurde, und die wohl nur bei gemeinsamen Opfermahlen verwendet wurde (Munch 1989: 329). Auch hier ist der Vergleich mit Snorri einleuchtend. Bei der Darstellung des allgemeinen Opferfestes der Tränder im Kap. 14 der Saga von Hakon dem Guten heißt es: *eldar skyldu vera á miðju gólfi í hofinu ok þar katlar yfir.*

Genuines Überlieferungsgut verbirgt sich in den Szenen, die Snorri im Kap. 17 und 18 der Saga von Hakon dem Guten gibt (vgl. oben S. 227). Als der König sich wiederholt weigert, an den Kulthandlungen teilzunehmen, wird er von Sigurd Jarl gebeten, doch wenigstens über dem Henkel des mit Opferspeise gefüllten Kessels den Mund zu öffnen. Der König tut das, bindet aber ein Leinentuch um den Kesselhenkel. Bei dem Julfest in Mære sah sich laut Snorri der König dazu genötigt, etwas von der Pferdeleber zu kosten: *kømr þá svá, at Hákon konungr át nǫkkura bita af hrosslifr.* Daß Hakon dem Willen der Bauern entgegenkam und am Opferkult teilnahm, berichtet auch die Fagrskinna, wenngleich bloß in allgemeinen Wendungen: *þá gørði hann eptir bœn þeira ok blótaði* (Fagrsk. Kap. 9). Das Ágrip weiß aber Näheres darüber zu erzählen: Hakon biß in die Pferdeleber, aber er warf ein Tuch darum, um nicht in das bare Fleisch zu beißen. Das war laut dem Ágrip die einzige Opferhandlung, die der König ausführte (*blótaði eigi ǫðruvís*). Das Stück wird als mündliche Tradition vom Verfasser des Ágrip eingeführt: *svá er sagt, at hann biti á hrosslifr* ... Die Auseinandersetzung Hakons mit den Tröndbauern hat sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach im Gedächtnis der nachfolgenden

Generationen in Form von kleinen Anekdoten erhalten; eine wird vom Verfasser des Ágrip gegeben. Snorri hat diese Anekdote und vielleicht noch andere gekannt, aber scheint das Motiv mit dem Leinentuch in eine andere Situation versetzt zu haben und damit das ursprüngliche Traditionsstück in zwei aufgespaltet zu haben.

Im Hinblick auf das rituelle Trunkzeremoniell, wie man es bei Snorri findet, sind wir auf allgemeine Erwägungen verwiesen, denn es gibt keine anderen Quellenzeugnisse, die seine Angaben beglaubigen könnten. Daß es ein sakrales Trinken bei den Opferfesten gegeben hat, daran braucht man nicht zu zweifeln. Die Notizen des Gutalags und der Gutasaga zeugen deutlich davon, aber die Einzelheiten entziehen sich unserem Wissen. Das Vorkommen sakraler Trinkgelage wird auch durch die Bedeutung, welche die altskandinavische Mythologie dem Met und seiner Kraft beimißt, nahegelegt; die mythische Symbolik wurde im Ritus vergegenwärtigt (vgl. Drobin 1991). Mag Snorri auch Anregungen seiner Darstellung des Trunkzeremoniells von dem Minnetrinken in den Gilden bekommen haben, so ist damit die Frage vom Ursprung dieses Trinkens in Skandinavien nicht erledigt. Es scheint mir sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß z.B. das sakrale Gelage, das im älteren Gulathingsgesetz vorgeschrieben wird, von der Kirche geschaffen wurde. Eine Erklärung wie diejenige, die das Ágrip gibt, kommt mir mehr glaubhafter vor. Olaf Tryggvason ließ die Opferfeiern und das sakrale Trinken abschaffen (*felldi blót ok blótdrykkjur*), aber um dem Volk entgegenzukommen, führte er stattdessen Trinkzeremonien an den christlichen Festtagen ein: *hátiðadrykkjur jól ok páskar, Jóansmessu mungát ok haustǫl at Míkjalsmessu* (Ágrip Kap. 19).

Snorri beendet seine Darstellung des Opferfestes bei den Tröndern mit einer Skaldenstrophe von Kormak Ögmundarson, die von Snorri als eine Erinnerung an eine große Opferfeier zitiert wird, eine Feier, die von Sigurd Jarl veranstaltet und bezahlt wurde. Düwel meint, diese Interpretation stamme von Snorri selbst, die Strophe hätte jedoch ursprünglich nur den Zweck gehabt, Sigurd Jarl als einen freigebigen Mann zu charakterisieren, der „seine Vorräte und Schätze nicht schont, um seine Gäste zu erfreuen" (Düwel 1985: 17). Snorris Interpretation des Ausdrucks *vés valdr* als „Herrscher der Heiligtums", die als Stütze seiner Darstellung von der *blótveizla* diente, scheint mir jedoch die naheliegendste zu sein und die Richtigkeit der Interpretation Snorris wird von Grønvik (1989) näher begründet. Die Strophe besagt aber auch, daß es Sitte war, Essen und Bier[27] zum Opferfest mitzubringen, jedoch daß für die besondere Gelegen-

[27] In der Interpretation der Kenning *eskis fats afspring* als „das Bier" folge ich Bjarni

heit, auf die sich die Strophe bezieht, der Jarl das Opfergelage bezahlte (vgl. Holtsmark 1970: 40–41). So aufgefaßt, wird die Strophe Kormaks ein wichtiges Indizium für das Vorkommen von Opferfesten auf den *hof,* wohin sich die Bauern begaben, Speise und Bier mit sich bringend.

Die Formel *ár ok friðr*

Snorris Schilderung des Trinkzeremoniells bei einem Opferfest enthält auch einige rituelle Trunksprüche. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit soll hier der Kultformel *ár ok friðr* gewidmet werden, die man traditionell als einen Inbegriff des altskandinavischen Opferkultus angesehen hat. Sein vorchristlicher Ursprung steht aber seit ein paar Jahrzehnten zur Diskussion. Mehrere Forscher haben Zweifel am vorchristlichen Ursprung dieser Formel erhoben. Lange weist darauf hin, daß die ältesten Belege sich „ausnahmlos erst in der christlichen Dichtung" finden (Lange 1958: 119). Olsen, der dem vorchristlichen Ursprung gleichfalls skeptisch gegenübersteht, bemerkt, daß die Verwendung der Formel *ár ok friðr* in Verbindung mit Olav dem Heiligen bei den frühen christlichen Skalden den Schluß zuläßt, die Formel könne nicht zuvor als „heidnischer" Kultspruch gedient haben (Olsen 1966: 46). Düwel knüpft an Lange an und meint, daß die zeitliche Priorität der christlichen Zeugnisse der Formel sich auch durch die Prosaliteratur bestätigen lasse (Düwel 1985: 66–69). Die Formel *ár ok friðr* kommt schon in den altnorwegischen Landschaftsgesetzen vor, außerdem in der frühen Heiligenliteratur. Auch das einfache *blóta til árs* sei „eine Analogiebildung zum christlichen Gebet um gute Ernte, dem *heita til árs*" (Düwel 1985: 67). Die Tatsache, daß die Formel erst in der christlichen Dichtung auftaucht, ist für Klaus von See entscheidend. Sie zeige zugleich, daß die Formel von einem vorherigen „heidnischem" Gebrauch pejorativ nicht belastet war (See 1988: 84–87). Das Wortpaar *ár ok friðr* ist laut von See mit der frühesten christlichen Mission nach Skandinavien gekommen und scheint sein Vorbild in den Begriffen *pax* und *prosperitas* zu haben, die schon in der Bibel gepaart sind. Die Stelle in Rimberts Vita Anskarii, wo der Ausdruck *pax et prosperitas* vorkommt und in den Mund eines „Heiden" gelegt ist (Kap. 26), könnte als eine Übertragung des altnordischen *ár ok friðr* Begriffes gedeutet werden, aber „allein schon Alliteration und Metrik der lateinischen Formel scheinen

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Aðalbjarnarson in seiner Bemerkung zu dieser Stelle in der Ausgabe der Heimskringla (siehe Snorri 1979).

dafür zu sprechen, daß sie im Gegenteil das Vorbild für *ár ok friðr* war" (See 1988: 87). Er zieht die Schlußfolgerung, daß „die hochmittelalterlichen Texte in ihren Passagen über *ár ok friðr* Vorstellungen auf die Heiden anwenden, die durchaus auch dem Christentum selbst geläufig sind" (See 1988: 87).

Die Formel *ár ok friðr,* die mit verschiedenen Zusätzen und in verschiedenen Abwandlungen variiert werden kann, erscheint in Snorris Schilderung des Opferfestes von Lade in der Form *drekka Njarðar full ok Freys full til árs ok friðar.* In anderen Zusammenhängen verwendet Snorri die beiden Begriffe *ár* und *friðr* ebenso mit einem besonderen Bezug auf die Fruchtbarkeitsgötter Frey und Njord. So heißt es in der Ynglingasaga Kap. 9, daß die Sviar glaubten, Njord herrsche über gute Ernte und gebe Reichtum an Vieh, weil zu seiner Zeit guter Frieden und allerlei Fruchtbarkeit waren (*friðr allgóðr ok allz konar ár*). Von seinem Nachfolger Frey wird gesagt, daß er *vinsæll ok ársæll* war. In seinen Tagen herrschte der Frodefrieden und da war *ár um ǫll lǫnd.* Frey wurde stärker als andere Götter verehrt, eben darum, weil die Leute des Landes *af friðinum ok ári* reicher als vorher wurden (Heimskringla, Ynglingasaga Kap. 10). Die heilspendende Kraft Freys geht auch auf seinen Sohn Fjǫlnir über, der *ársæll* ok *friðsæll* benannt wird (Heimskringla, Ynglingasaga Kap. 11). Mit ähnlichen Wendungen wie in der Ynglingasaga wird Frey auch in der Gylfaginning charakterisiert, und Snorri faßt den Wirkungsbereich des Gottes formelhaft zusammen: *á hann er gott at heita til árs ok friðar.* Der Prolog der Snorra Edda greift auch dasselbe Thema auf, aber schreibt es den vermenschlichten Asen zu. Diese waren auf ihrem Zug nach Norden stets von Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden begleitet, was ihnen Glauben verschaffte: *þá var þár ár ok friðr, ok trúðu allir, at þeir væri þess ráðandi* (Prolog Kap. 5).

Die Begriffe Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden werden bei Snorri in einem zweiten Kontext gebraucht, der auch in der Schilderung von den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Hakon dem Guten und den Tröndern zum Ausdruck kommt. Die Bauern wollen, daß der König die Götter verehre, um Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden herbeizubringen: *þeir vilja, at konungr blóti til árs þeim ok friðar* (Heimskringla, Hákonar saga góða Kap. 16).

Damit gibt Snorri die beiden Hauptkontexte an, in denen nach seiner Auffassung die Formel *ár ok friðr* (mit ihren Varianten) in der altskandinavischen Religion verwurzelt war. Sind nun seine Angaben bloß eine Anwendung christlicher Begriffe auf die Religion seiner Vorfahren, die ihm teilweise schon von der frühen christlichen Tradition im Norden vorgegeben war? Oder haben wir es mit einem authentischen Zug des

vorchristlichen Kultus zu tun, der den Religionswechsel überdauert hat und von Snorri vermittelt worden ist? Die Antwort auf diese Fragen kann nicht gegeben werden, ohne gewisse methodische Erwägungen vorauszuschicken.

Der früheste schriftliche Beleg einer Vorstellung oder einer Formel, geschweige denn das älteste handschriftliche Zeugnis, ist nicht unbedingt mit dem Alter oder Ursprung jener Vorstellung oder Formel gleichzusetzen. Auch wenn die Formel *ár ok friðr* zuerst in christlichen Texten belegt ist, schließt diese Tatsache nicht von vornherein einen vorchristlichen Ursprung aus. Es besteht immerhin die Möglichkeit, daß die Zeugnisse von *ár ok friðr* in der christlichen Skaldendichtung, in den Landschaftsgesetzen und den frühen Übersetzungen der Heiligenliteratur eine Übernahme und *interpretatio christiana* einer altskandinavischen Kultformel darstellen.[28] Der christliche Charakter der Formel muß auf andere Weise bewiesen werden. Hier bieten sich zwei Wege an. Einerseits sollte man im Stande sein, auf ein plausibles Vorbild im mittelalterlichen Christentum hinzuweisen. Andererseits sollten die Formel und die damit verbundenen Vorstellungen als gänzlich abwesend und als etwas Fremdartiges in der altskandinavischen Religion herausgestellt werden.

Zum christlichen Vorbild für *ár ok friðr* ist nicht viel bemerkt worden.[29] Die Frage nach einem eventuellen Vorbild ist aber wichtig und bedarf einer eingehenderen Prüfung als die Ansätze, die bisher gemacht wurden. Von See meint ein biblisches Gegenstück gefunden zu haben und verweist auf Erstes Buch Esra 9,12 und Psalm 121,7 in der Vulgata (See 1988: 87). Die Kopplung der beiden Begriffe in diesen Passagen ist aber keine formelhafte und vermittelt nur die altjüdische Variante einer beinahe universellen Hochschätzung des Friedens und der Wohlfahrt. Übrigens sind es periphere Stellen, die nicht zum zentralen Bestand der christlichen Bibelpredigt gehören. Sie können deshalb kaum die Anregung für das Aufkommen der Formel *ár ok friðr* gegeben haben. Wenn man nach einem Modell suchen will, dann muß man die Aufmerksamkeit auf diejenigen Texte richten, die einen weitreichenderen und unmittelbareren Einfluß ausübten als der Bibeltext an sich. Ich denke dabei an die liturgischen Texte, die kirchlichen Benediktionen und die Homilien, besonders die volkssprachlichen Predigten (vgl. Hultgård 1990: 345–347).

Die römisch-katholische Liturgie betont stark den Opfercharakter der Messe und setzt dabei die Gebete und Doxologien in einen rituellen Rah-

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[28] Diese Auffassung wird klar von Ström 1982 formuliert, und zuletzt von Dillman 1991: 166 N. 2 gut zusammengefaßt.

[29] Weder Lange, Olsen noch Düwel gehen auf dieses Problem ein.

men, der religionsphänomenologisch gesehen dem altskandinavischen Opferkult sehr ähnelt. Überblickt man die wichtigsten Messeordnungen der westlichen und östlichen Kirchen, fällt es auf, daß die Gebete dieser Liturgien kaum formelhafte Ausdrücke von der Art enthalten, die als Vorbild für die skandinavischen Wendungen mit *ár* und *friðr* gedient haben können. Die normative römische Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters, der *Ordo missae romanus* (Lietzmann 1923), spricht zwar mehrmals vom göttlichen Frieden, der durch das Messeopfer den Menschen vermittelt werde, aber das Wort *pax* hat hier eine andere, mehr spirituelle Bedeutung und erscheint außerdem mit anderen Begriffen verbunden, die in die Vorstellungssphäre des altskandinavischen *ár* gar nicht hineinpassen. So heißt es im Gebet *Hanc igitur* des Canon Missae: *quaesumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias: diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi* ... Ähnlich spricht der Priester im Stück *Libera nos,* das eine Erweiterung des Gebetes *sed libera nos a malo* im Pater Noster darstellt: *da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiae tuae adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi.* Die innerliche, spirituelle Bedeutung von *pax* wird in dem Gebet, das dem Agnus Dei folgt, klar ausgesprochen: *Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti Apostolis tuis: Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis, ne respicias peccata mea* ... In der gallischen Liturgie, dem *Ordo missae gallicanus* (Lietzmann 1923), der stärker variiert werden konnte, kommen an erster Stelle des litaneiartigen Gebets nach der Predigt die Worte: *Oramus te domine ... pro altissima pace et tranquillitate temporum nostrum.* Hier klingt ein bekannterer Ton an, aber immer noch entfernt vom Inhalt der *ár ok friðr* Formel. Die Collectio Post Nomina derselben Liturgie drückt die Hoffnung aus, daß die Opfergabe (*oblatio*) derjenigen, deren Namen vor dem Altar gesprochen würden, Gott angenehm werde und den Gebern reichlichen Segen bringen werde, *ut illis sit in beneficiis copiosa.* Die byzantinische Liturgie, die in der Wikingerzeit einen gewissen Einfluss auf Skandinavien ausgeübt haben mag, enthält natürlich den allgemeinen Friedensgruß εἰρήνη πᾶσιν und verbindet auch den Friedensbegriff mit der Darbringung der Opfergaben an Gott (τὴν ἁγίαν ἀναφορὰν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσφέρειν), die als ein Opfer des Lobpreises betrachtet wird (ἔλεος, εἰρήνην, θυσίαν αἰνέσεως).

Das große Gebet nach der Anaphora enthält in der Basileios-Liturgie eine Reihe von Bitten an Gott, die mit μνήσθητι „gedenke an ... " eingeleitet werden. Diese Reihe endet mit einem Stück, in dem man Gott u.a. um seine Gaben bittet, daß er „mäßiges und nützliches Wetter schenke, heilsame Regen für die Erde zur Fruchtbarkeit gebe", εὐκράτους καὶ ἐπωφελεῖς

τοὺς ἀέρας ἡμῖν χαρίσαι, ὄμβρους εἰρηνικοὺς τῇ γῇ πρὸς καρποφορίαν δωρήσαι. Die letzte Bitte lautet: „zeige uns deinen Frieden (τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην) und deine Liebe, Herr, unser Gott, denn alles hast du uns gegeben". Die Enarxis der Basileios-Liturgie bringt auch ein Gebet, in dem der Priester Gott um Errettung und Segen für das Volk und Bewahrung der ganzen Kirche „in Frieden" bittet. Die byzantinische Liturgie kennt also auch eine Bitte um die Fruchtbarkeit der Erde, aber eine formelhafte Paarung der Begriffe „Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden" gibt es nicht.

Die kirchlichen Benediktionen, die außerhalb der Hauptliturgien bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten verwendet wurden, sind als eine mehr spezielle Art von Segnungen anzusehen, die das generelle Gepräge der Gebete in der Messe entbehren. Wenngleich besondere Segnungen z.B. über die Saat oder die Früchte im Gebrauch waren,[30] findet man in diesen Benediktionen keine Entsprechungen zu den Formeln *ár ok friðr* mit mit ihrem allgemeinen und zusammenfassenden Charakter.

Wenden wir uns der volkssprachlichen Predigt- und Legendenliteratur zu, die vom 12. Jahrhundert an, zum Teil noch früher, ins Altwestnordische übertragen wurde, so begegnen wir ziemlich frühen Zeugnissen der Formel *ár ok friðr.* Es ist natürlich wichtig, die eventuelle Vorlage der Formel in den lateinischen Texten zu finden, von denen die isländischen und norwegischen Übersetzer ausgingen. Das ist aber problematisch, weil die volkssprachlichen Predigtsammlungen im allgemeinen keine buchstäblichen Übersetzungen darstellen. Außerdem kombinierte man ziemlich frei verschiedene Stücke aus den vielen Homilienkompilationen des Mittelalters, von denen manche verlorengegangen sind. Es scheint mir jedoch fraglich, ob es eine exakte Vorlage für den Begriff *ár* gegeben hat. Diese Vermutung läßt sich mit den Eriksmirakeln aus der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts veranschaulichen. Das *Exemplum* 41 bringt die Geschichte von den Bauern in einigen Gemeinden in Uppland, die dem heiligen Erik eine silberne Ähre darbringen, um gutes Wetter und Regen zu bekommen. Der lateinische Text lautet an der entscheidenden Stelle: *si per ejus interventum Dominus, secundum agrorum exigentiam, serenitatem et pluviam tribueret oportunam* (Miracula 1828:41). Der altschwedische Text paraphrasiert diese Stelle und verwendet dabei den

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[30] Ich verweise auf die Sammlungen von Frantz 1909 und Linderholm 1927. Die Formeln für die *Benedictio seminum* der katholischen Kirche finden sich erst seit dem 11. Jahrhundert (Frantz 1909/2: 9). Linderholm teilt einige Formeln mit, die im Manuale Upsaliense von 1487 (*Benedictio seminis* nr. 76) und Manuale Lincopense von 1525 (*Ad fruges,* nr. 64) angeführt werden. Wie oben gesagt, gibt es in diesen Benediktionen keine formelhaften Wendungen, die der Formel *ár ok friðr* entsprechen.

Begriff "åhrswext" und fügt noch am Ende hinzu "och godan åhrswext", Ausdrücke, die sich in dem lateinischen Text nicht finden.

Es gelingt somit nicht, ein einleuchtendes Vorbild der altskandinavischen Formel *ár ok friðr* (mit seinen Varianten) im mittelalterlichen Christentum zu finden. Wir müssen uns jetzt fragen, inwieweit diese Formel in Einklang mit altskandinavischen Vorstellungen steht und auch wie die Überlieferungsgeschichte der Formel sich skizzieren läßt. Den Ausgangspunkt bildet wiederum Snorris Gebrauch der Wendungen mit *ár ok friðr*.

Snorri setzt zwar den Gebrauch der *ár ok friðr* Formel in einen euhemeristischen Kontext ein,[31] aber das bedeutet nicht, daß die Formel gelehrte Erfindung oder christliches Lehngut sein muß. Wie Gerd Wolfgang Weber zutreffend sagt, diene der Euhemerismus „der Weg-Erklärung eines Phänomens, nicht dessen Erfindung" (Weber 1991: 15). Auf welchem Überlieferungsgut konnte Snorri denn bauen, wenn er die Kultformel *ár ok friðr* sowohl mit der Verehrung Freys und Njords als auch mit der sakralen Funktion des Königs oder Häuptlings verknüpft?

Bekanntlich kommt die Formel in den Edda-Liedern nicht vor und taucht in der Skaldendichtung erst mit christlichen Dichtern auf, aber diese Tatsache beweist nicht einen christlichen Ursprung der Formel. Sehr wenig, wenn irgend etwas, von echten Kultformeln und Kulthymnen hat sich durch den Religionswechsel retten können, wie ich in den einleitenden, prinzipiellen Erwägungen darzulegen versucht habe. Es braucht also nicht zu verwundern, daß keine Zeugnisse der *ár ok friðr* Formel sich in diesen beiden Überlieferungssträngen erhalten haben, in denen ohnehin der genuin kultische Stoff nur schwach vertreten ist.

Wir müssen uns anderen Quellen zuwenden, die Auskunft über den vorchristlichen Kultus geben. Daß sich ein geschichtlicher Kern aus Snorris Erzählung vom Versuch Hakon des Guten, die Bauern in Tröndelag zum Christentum zu bekehren, herausschälen läßt, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Die historischen Werke, die vor Snorri in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts verfaßt worden sind, erwähnen alle auf verschiedene Weise — mit Ausnahme der Geschichte des Theodoricus Monachus — die Auseinandersetzung des Königs mit den Tröndbauern. Die Fagrskinna sagt, daß die Tränder dem König die Wahl stellten, entweder die Götter zu verehren wie die vorigen Könige und dabei das alte Gesetz für Wohlstand

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[31] In der Ynglingasaga und im Prolog der Snorra Edda sind die Götter als hervorragende Menschen der Vorzeit geschildert, und dieser grundlegende Euhemerismus bildet auch den Rahmen der Gylfaginning; vgl. Baetke 1950: 20–32. Man kann jedoch diskutieren, wie weit der Euhemerismus von Snorri darüber hinaus geht; vgl. die unterschiedlichen Meinungen von Weber (1991) und von von See (1988: 69–87).

und Frieden zu erfüllen: *ok fylla svá en fornu lǫg til árs ok friðar,* oder vom Königtum vertrieben zu werden (Fagrsk. Kap. 9). Hier wird die Formel mit alter sakraler Sitte verbunden, ohne daß man literarische Ausschmückung oder besondere erzählerische Absichten spürt. Von den beiden Hauptkontexten, in denen Snorri die Vorstellung von *ár ok friðr* vermittelt ist es eben derjenige eines sakralen Herrschertums,[32] der sich am deutlichsten in den vorhandenen Quellen wiederspiegelt. Besonders wichtig sind diejenigen Quellenbelege, die einem vorchristlichen Milieu entstammen oder vorchristliche Verhältnisse klar reflektieren.

Das Bild eines guten Herrschers, der seine sakrale Funktion in Gerechtigkeit ausübt, zeichnen einige Skalden des 10. Jahrhunderts von Hakon Jarl. Einar Helgason, genannt Skálaglam, schildert in der Vellekla, wie Hakon die Opferfeste und Heiligtümer wiederherstellt (Str. 15), die von den Erikssöhnen vernachlässigt oder zerstört geworden waren (vgl. Fagrsk. Kap. 16: *Hér má heyra, at synir Eiríks brutu niðr blótin*). Das hat zur Folge, daß, wie Strophe 16 sagt, die Götter sich wohlwollend wieder den Opfern zuwenden (*herþarfir hverfa ... til blóta ... ásmegir*), der Jarl (*ríkr hlakkar móts, rauðbríkar rœkir* = des Kampfgetöses Mächtiger, des Schildes Handhaber) gewinnt Ehre durch solches (*fremsk ... slíku*). Die Erde hat gutes Wachstum wie zuvor (*nú grœr jǫrð sem áðan*), und der freigebige Jarl läßt dann die Männer fröhlich die heiligen Plätze der Götter besuchen: *aptr geirbrúar hapta, auðrýrir lætr ǫru, óhryggva vé byggva.* In Strophe 18, die nur in der Fagrskinna überliefert ist, sagt der Skalde von Hakon, daß kein hochgeborener Krieger auf der Erde erschienen sei, der einen solchen Frieden bewirkt habe — außer Frode:

Engi varð á jǫrðu
ættum góðr nema Fróði,
gæti-Njǫrðr sás gerði
geirbríkar frið slíkan

Diese Strophen in der Vellekla zeigen deutlich, wie fest die Erwartungen auf reichliche Ernte, Frieden und Sicherheit mit der richtigen Verehrung der Götter durch den Herrscher verbunden waren. Wenngleich das Wort *ár* hier nicht verwendet wird, ist jedoch der Inhalt des Begriffes klar

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[32] Mit dem Terminus „sakrales Herrschertum" ist hier nur soviel gemeint, daß der Herrscher (König oder Häuptling) eine wichtige Funktion im Kultus ausübt. Beim Vollzug gewisser Kulthandlungen zu besonderen Gelegenheiten vertritt er den Stamm oder die Kultgemeinde den Göttern gegenüber. Ich meine, daß die Ausführungen Baetkes über die Sakralität des altskandinavischen Herrschertums etwas Richtiges erfaßt haben (Baetke 1964: 51–68); vgl. seine Konklusion: „Als Verwalter des höchsten Kultamts ist der König gewissermaßen Vermittler — nicht Träger — des Heils".

ausgedrückt. Die Fagrskinna bemerkt ganz richtig dazu: *þá var friðr góðr með árinu, sem enn segir Einarr.* Snorri malt das in der Heimskringla weiter aus (Heimskringla, Ol. Tryggv. Saga Kap. 16), wenn er Strophe 16 der Vellekla zitiert. Im ersten Winter, in dem Hakon über das Land herrschte, gingen die Heringe überall dicht ans Land; wo man gesät hatte, wuchs das Getreide, und Samenkörner waren reichlich vorhanden, so daß die Äcker neu besät werden konnten. Das erweckte schnell Hoffnungen auf erneute gute Ernten (*varð þat brátt árvænt*).

Ein wichtiges Zeugnis für die Verbindung zwischen den Vorstellungen von *ár,* also „Wohlstand, Fruchtbarkeit, gute Ernte", und dem Opferkultus gibt uns der Stentoften-Stein in Blekinge (DaRun 357), der zusammen mit den anderen Steinen der Blekinge-Gruppe aller Wahscheinlichkeit nach dem 7. Jahrhundert angehört. Der runentragende Stein war von fünf größeren Steinen umgeben. Wenngleich einige Runensequenzen der Inschrift noch keine befriedigende Interpretation erhalten haben, ist immerhin so viel klar, daß es sich um eine kultische Inschrift handelt.[33] Ein Blekinger Häuptling namens Haþuwolfʀ hat das Denkmal errichten lassen, und die dritte vertikale Linie der Inschrift **haþuwolafʀgafj** liest sich überzeugend als *Haþuwolfʀ gaf jāra,* das ist „Haþuwolfʀ gab ein gutes Jahr". Hier findet sich der Begriff *jāra* (> altnordisch *ár*) in einem genuin vorchristlichen Kultkontext und bestätigt demnach die Authentizität des wikingerzeitlichen *ár* als echt altskandinavischen Begriff für „gute Ernte, Wohlstand und Fruchtbarkeit". Die ersten Linien der Inschrift unterstreichen den Opfercharakter. Die Runenfolgen **niuhaborumʀ** und **niuhagestumʀ** werden von Santesson (1989) als Erwähnung von Zahl und Art der Opfertiere gedeutet. Die ersten drei Linien sind also zu übersetzen:

„Mit neun Widdern, mit neun Hengsten gab Haþuwolfʀ ein gutes Jahr".

Der Gummarp Stein (DaRun 358), der auch zu den Blekinge-Steinen gehört, erwähnt wahrscheinlich denselben Mann, der in der Stentoften-Inschrift genannt ist: **haþuwolafa[ʀ] sate þria fff**, was als „Haþuwolfʀ ließ drei Stäbe setzen, fff" gedeutet werden kann. Meiner Ansicht nach geht es hier, wie auf dem Stentoften-Stein, nicht um Privatmagie, sondern um öffentlichen Kultus. Das Denkmal will daran erinnern, daß Haþuwolfʀ Wohlstand für die Blekinger Kultgemeinde durch Opferfeiern bewirkt hat.

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[33] Das ist richtig von Marstrander 1953: 128 gesehen und gewissermaßen auch von Moltke 1981: 141. Durch die Neuinterpretation von Santesson 1989 tritt der kultische Charakter noch stärker hervor.

Die drei f Runen sind sicherlich als Begriffsrunen zu deuten, und stehen für *fehu* > altnord. *fé* = „Vieh, Besitz, Reichtum".

Der zweite Kontext, in den Snorri die Formel *ár ok friðr* hineinsetzt, ist der Kultus von Frey und Njord. Die Glaubensvorstellungen, die in der Wikingerzeit mit diesen Gottheiten verknüpft waren, lassen sich ohne Schwierigkeit in den Bereich der Begriffe Wohlstand, Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden einfügen. Auch wenn wir von Snorris Werken absehen, gibt es in Quellen, die zeitlich vor Snorri liegen, klare Belege für eine solche Einordnung.

Adam von Bremen schildert in einem kurzen Abschnitt den Kultus von Thor, Wodan und Fricco, den Hauptgöttern der Sviar zu Uppsala (Gesta Hammarburg IV,26–27). Der Wirkungsbereich jeder Gottheit wird kurz angegeben. Dabei charakterisiert er Fricco (= Freyr) als denjenigen, der den Menschen Frieden und Wonne schenke (*pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus*). Adam teilt uns auch mit, daß sein Standbild mit einem großen Phallus versehen sei, und daß man ihm opfere, wenn Hochzeit gefeiert werden solle. An der Richtigkeit von Adams Information ist grundsätzlich nicht zu zweifeln, und die Verehrung Freys als Spender von Frieden und Fruchtbarkeit muß somit als ein authentischer Zug angesehen werden. Die Schilderung des Nerthuskultus, die Tacitus in Germania Kap. 40 gibt, bestätigt die Verknüpfung der Vorstellungen von Frieden und Freude mit einer Gottheit, die zu derselben Gruppe gehört wie Frey, Njord und Freya. Es fällt auf, welche große Rolle der Friedensbegriff in dieser Schilderung spielt. Wenn die Göttin unter den Menschen verweilt, werden Kriege nicht angefangen, Waffen nicht getragen, Eisengeräte eingeschlossen. Zu dieser Zeit erfährt man und liebt man den Frieden und die Ruhe (*pax et quies*), und die Tage sind froh, und die Plätze, die die Göttin besucht, sind festlich geschmückt.

Die eigenartige Schilderung in der Vita Anskarii (Kap. 26) von einem Mann (*quidam ... adveniens*), der in Birka als Bote der einheimischen Götter auftrat, bezeugt die altskandinavische Vorstellung, daß Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden von der göttlichen Welt gegeben werden. Durch die Verehrung der Sviar hätten die Götter das Land *cum multa abundantia* erhalten und ihnen *pax et prosperitas* gegeben, lautete die Botschaft des Mannes. Nun solle man nicht einen fremden Gott einführen, sondern die Opfer vermehren und, wenn man noch einen Gott haben wolle, könne man den alten König Erik unter die Götter aufnehmen. Hinter der lateinischen Sprachfassung und Rhetorik verbirgt sich eine genuine Tradition einer Konfrontation zwischen der christlichen Mission und einem Vertreter der altskandinavischen Religion in einem wichtigen Handelsplatz Schwedens

im 9. Jahrhundert, und die oben genannten lateinischen Ausdrücke geben sicherlich altskandinavische Begriffe wider.

Es läßt sich also feststellen, daß die Formeln mit *ár ok friðr* Vorstellungen ausdrücken, die kongenial mit der altskandinavischen Religion sind. Durch den Vollzug der Opferfeiern wird den Menschen göttliche Hilfe und Zuwendung den Menschen zuteil; gute Ernte, Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden, auch als Harmonie, Sicherheit und Wohlergehen zu verstehen, fassen das Wesentliche zusammen, worum die Menschen im alten Skandinavien die Gottheit baten.

In vielen Religionen, besonders in ethnischen, werden im Kultus der Gottheit ähnliche Gebete dargebracht, und allein diese Tatsache weist darauf hin, daß man Gebetsformeln für Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden auch in der altskandinavischen Religion erwarten kann. Das antike Judentum, das eine ethnische Religion war, kann als Beispiel dienen. Die synagogale Liturgie, aus dem der christliche Gottesdienst hervorgegangen ist, richtet im Achtzehngebet (der *'amidāh*) an Yahve die Bitte um Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden. Das dritte Gebet sagt: „Gib Tau und Regen über die Erde und sättige die Welt mit deiner reichen Güte. Sei gelobt Adonai, der du die Jahre segnest" (palästinische Rezension; hebräischer Text bei Staerk 1930: 12). Das letzte Gebet faßt in dem *šalōm* — Begriff das zusammen, worum die Gemeinde gebeten hat: „ sende deinen Frieden (*šalōm*) über Yisra'el, dein Volk, und segne uns alle in Einheit. Sei gelobt Adonai, der du den Frieden schaffst" (hebräischer Text bei Staerk 1930: 14).

Die mittelalterliche Übernahme der altskandinavischen Formeln mit *ár ok friðr* scheint sich früh vollzogen zu haben und gehörte wohl einer synkretistischen Phase an,[34] in der das Christentum noch nicht zur vollen Machtstellung gekommen war und daher geneigt war, sich der vorchristlichen Kultur anzupassen. Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der Formel läßt sich damit in Einklang bringen. Das erste Zeugnis findet sich schon um 1031, wie oben erwähnt wurde, in der Glælognskviða von Thorarinn loftunga. Von Olaf dem Heiligen wird gesagt, daß Gott durch ihn allen Menschen Wohlstand und Frieden gebe (Str. 9b):

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[34] Vgl. die Ausführungen Langes über Synkretismus (Lange 1958: 17–23), u. a. „Das Ergebnis jeder Bekehrung oder andersartigen Religionsübertragung ist notwendig synkretistisch". Lange betont, daß die synkretistischen Formen nicht nur in Übergangszeiten auftreten, sondern sich bis auf den heutigen Tag erhalten haben (1958: 18). Ich meine aber, daß die Übergangszeit mehr Mischformen und mehr Aneignung einheimischer Elemente aufweist. Die meisten von ihnen werden von der Kirche unterdrückt, wenn das Christentum fest organisiert und etabliert wird.

hann um getr af Guði sjǫlfum
ár ok frið ǫllum mǫnnum.

Der Gedanke an den König als Spender der Fruchtbarkeit und des Friedens kommt in der folgenden Zeit öfter zum Ausdruck. Das Ágrip berichtet von Sigurd Jorsalafar, daß in seinen Tagen überaus gute Zeiten herrschten: *gørðisk þá gótt of hans daga bæði of ár ok of margfalda aðra gœzku* (Ágrip Kap. 55). Die kleine Strophe aus Sigurds Hand, die das Ágrip zitiert, hebt auch die Bedeutung des Friedensbegriffes hervor (*byggt land ok friðr standi*).

Einige Zeugnisse in den norwegischen Landschaftsgesetzen gehören noch der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts an.[35] Das Gulathingsgesetz beginnt mit einer Mahnung, sich nach Osten zu wenden und *biðja til hins helga Krist árs ok friðar* (Kap. 1). In den Vorschriften über das sakrale Biertrinken (Kap. 6–7), die in dem älteren Gulathingsgesetz stehen, heißt es beide Male, daß man das Bier an Allerheiligen und am Heiligabend weihen solle, *til Krist þakka ok sankta Mariu, til árs ok til friðar.* In dem Frostathinggesetz wird ein Fasten an gewissen Tagen vorgeschrieben *til árs ok friðar ok til heilsu ǫllum mǫnnum* (Kap. 32). Auch das Gutalag bringt im Eingangsstück die Formel und ermahnt, den allmächtigen Gott zu bitten, daß *hann unni oss ār ok frið, sigr ok hailsu.*[36] Diese beiden Ausdrücke scheinen aus der altskandinavischen Religion übertragen zu sein, während die abschließende Ermahnung desselben Abschnittes Begriffe vermittelt, die der christlichen Sphäre deutlicher entstammen: „und uns sei am meisten nötig, für Leben und Seele zu beten" (*til lifs ok siālar*).

Die Stellen mit Zeugnissen der Formel *ár ok friðr* aus der frühen Legendenliteratur, die Düwel verzeichnet, lassen sich mit weiteren Belegen aus den volksprachlichen Homilien ergänzen. Eine Predigt über die Quatembertage, die zum ältesten Bestand der altwestnordischen Homilien gehört (vgl. Gjerløw 1981: 362; Holtsmark 1930: 270), verknüpft das Fasten dieser Tage mit dem Gang des Ackerbaus. Die Quatembertage seien von Moses eingeführt worden, um Gott zu bitten, daß er Fruchtbarkeit gebe (*hann setti fǫstu þessa til árs*). Das Winterfasten diene dazu, daß Gott die Erde nicht so sehr gefrieren lasse (*at guðs miskunn láti eigi só mikin þela verða í jǫrðu*), daß die Saat zur rechten Zeit in die Erde komme. Das Frühlingsfasten solle die Saat im Boden verwurzeln lassen, und das Sommerfasten sei dazu da, das Getreide zur Ernte reifen zu lassen. Das

[35] Die schriftliche Fixierung des älteren Gulathingsgesetzes fällt in die zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts; vgl. Knudsen 1981.

[36] Die vorher genannten Stellen sind auch bei Düwel angegeben.

Herbstfasten schließlich diene dazu, mit Gottes Hilfe die Ernte einzubringen. Zum Schluß wird betont, wenn das Gebot der Quatembertage richtig gehalten werde, dann werde der Herr Jesus Christ *gefa oss ár ok frið á jǫrðu en leiða oss eptir dóms dag í eilifa dýrð með sér sjǫlvum á himna.* Die Quatemberpredigt ist wie die meisten altwestnordischen Homilien von lateinischen oder angelsächsischen Vorlagen abhängig, aber sie ist in freier Übertragung auf uns gekommen und altskandinavischen Verhältnissen angepaßt. Der Zweck des Winterfastens, daß der Boden nicht tief frieren werde (das Wort *þeli,* schwedisch "tjäle", norwegisch "tele", ist bezeichnend), versteht sich nur auf Grund der strengen Winter des Nordens. Ähnlich verhält es sich meines Erachtens mit dem Begriff *ár* und mit der formelhaften Paarung von *ár ok friðr,* die in der altskandinavischen agraren Vorstellungswelt ihre Wurzeln haben.

Das altnorwegische Homilienbuch, das volkssprachliche Predigten aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, oder in einigen Fällen sogar aus dem 11. Jahrhundert enthält, zeigt auch Beispiele der Übernahme der Begriffe *ár und friðr.* Der *Sermo ad populum* (GNH 1931: 35,16–38,4), der von Indrebø (GNH 1931: *60) als ein norwegisches Originalstück angesehen wird, betont in den abschließenden Ermahnungen, daß der Gehorsam dessen, was hier gepredigt werde, „Nutzen und gute Lebensbedingungen, Fruchtbarkeit und Frieden, Freude und Glück" (*gagn ok goða luti, ár ok frið, fagnað ok farsælu*) in dieser Welt mit sich bringen werde (GNH 1931: 37, 16–19). Die Folgen des Ungehorsams werden an dieser Stelle der Predigt klar festgestellt und bezeichnenderweise mit den negativen Formen von *ár* und *friðr* ausgedrückt, was den einheimischen Ursprung der Formel *ár ok friðr* stützt : *þá vil várr dróttin oss berja fyrir þat, bæði með manndauða ok uáran ok ufriði ok hvívítni er ilt er* (GNH 1931: 37, 21–22).

Die oben genannten Belege der Formel *ár ok friðr* fallen alle in die Zeit vor Snorri und sind in einem christlichen Zusammenhang überliefert. Sie zeugen aber von einer frühen Aneignung altskandinavischer Begriffe, die in den Dienst der christlichen Verkündigung gestellt wurden, ohne daß die Kirche damit auf ihre zentralen Lehren verzichtete. Formeln wie *blóta* oder *heita til árs* (*ok friðar*) sind demnach als echte vorchristliche Formeln aufzufassen, die durch die mündliche Tradition den Religionswechsel überlebt haben.

Schlußbemerkung

Obwohl Snorris Schilderung der Opferfeste in Tröndelag nicht als ein authentischer Bericht vorchristlicher Opferrituale gelten kann, war er doch in einer weit besseren Lage als der moderne Forscher, sich über altskandinavische Verhältnisse zu erkundigen (vgl. auch Meulengracht Sørensen 1991: 243). Bei seiner Darstellung wurde er nicht nur von erzähltechnischen Motiven getrieben, sondern er hatte auch ein lebendiges Interesse an der „heidnischen" Vorzeit. Das bedeutet nicht, daß alles was er über Opferrituale bringt, echt vorchristlich zu sein braucht. Snorri hat für einige Züge seiner Schilderung die Anregungen von dem christlichen mittelalterlichen Milieu bekommen. Genuine Elemente sind aber in seine zusammenfassende Rekonstruktion auch eingegangen, wie ich in dieser Studie zu zeigen versucht habe. Man darf die Kultberichte der Saga von Hakon dem Guten und der Eyrbyggjasaga gewiß nicht als unmittelbare Zeugnisse des vorchristlichen Opferkultus lesen, aber man kann sie auch nicht gänzlich als literarische Fiktion verwerfen. Altüberlieferter Stoff und christlich-mittelalterliche Tradition sind zusammengewoben worden, und es ist nicht immer leicht die Elemente voneinander zu trennen. Der Versuch muß aber unternommen werden.

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* Ich danke Herrn cand.phil. Jürgen Beyer, Clare College, Cambridge, für Verbesserungen meines Deutschs.

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JENS PETER SCHJØDT

The Relation between the two Phenomenological Categories Initiation and Sacrifice as Exemplified by the Norse Myth of Óðinn on the Tree

Many articles have been devoted to the Old Norse myth which relates how Odin was hanging from a tree for nine nights without being offered food or drink. This paper does not pretend to deal with all the problems concerning this myth, most of which are primarily of philological interest. As a matter of fact, what I am going to do here is nothing more than discuss whether we are faced with an initiation or a sacrifice in these strophes. To do so, however, demands that we go into the general phenomenological framework in relation to the two categories in order to decide the distinctive features characterizing each one of them.

The strophes read as follows:

138 Veit ek at ek hekk
vindgæmeiði á
nætr allar níu,
geiri undaðr
ok gefinn Óðni,
sjálfr sjálfum mér,
á þeim meiði,
er manngi veit,
hvers hann af rótum renn.

139 Við hleifi mik sældu
né við hornigi,
nysta ek niðr,
nam ek upp rúnar,
œpandi nam,
fell ek aptr þaðan.

138 I know that I hung
on the windswept tree
for nine full nights,
wounded with a spear
and given to Óðinn,
myself to myself;
on that tree
of which none know
from what roots it rises.

139 They did not comfort me with bread,
and not with the drinking horn;
I peered downward,
I grasped the 'runes',
screeching I grasped them;
I fell back from there.

140 Fimbulljóð níu nam ek af enum frægja syni Bǫlþórs, Bestlu fǫður, ok ek drykk of gat ens dýra mjaðar, ausinn Óðreri.	140 I learned nine mighty songs from the famous son of Bölthór, father of Bestla, and I got a drink of the precious mead, I was sprinkled with Óðrerir.
141 Þá nam ek frævask ok fróðr vera ok vaxa ok vel hafask; orð mér af orði orðs leitaði, verk mér af verki verks leitaði.	141 Then I began to be fruitful and to be fertile, to grow and to prosper; one word sought another word from me; one deed sought another deed from me. (Translation by Turville-Petre)

Although it is certain that Hávamál, as it is known from the Codex Regius, is a compilation of several autonomous poems, there is no reason to believe that the four strophes under discussion have not always made up a unit. It is thus reasonable to treat the myth more or less in isolation from the rest of the poem.

The question we are going to investigate here is, as mentioned, whether we are facing a sacrifice or an initiation. Both possibilities have been proposed, and some scholars have even believed that the strophes deal with an exemplary myth which has served directly as a model for some ritual (Klingenberg 1972: 134 ff. and 1973: 169 ff.). Below we shall return to this question. The crucial problem seems to be the exact meaning of the words *ok gefinn Óðni siálfr siálfom mér.* How are we to translate the word *gefinn*? Does it mean "initiated" or "sacrificed"? The first meaning is supported by Sijmons and Gering (1906–31/3: 149), van Hamel (1932: 264), Pipping (1928: 9), F. Ström (1947: 61), Hunke (1952: 69), and perhaps most distinctly by Höfler (1934: 232 ff.), whereas the latter is supported by Turville-Petre (1964: 50), Beck (1967: 134 ff.), Sauvé (1970: 180), and probably also implicitly by Talley (1974: 63 ff.). Many scholars have viewed van Hamel's explanation of the problems concerning this myth as essentially correct. He claimed the myth to be about Odin actualizing his magical power by suffering martyrdom[1]; and magic should

[1] Although van Hamel is a bit confusing in his choice of terminology, it is obvious that his distinction between "martyrdom" and "sacrifice" is parallel to the distinction between "initiation" and "sacrifice". Concerning this distinction, he wrote:

"It lies not so much in the circumstance that in martyrdom one offers something of oneself, whereas we may sacrifice anything we like, in the majority of cases something that is not part and parcel of ourselves. This is only a consequence of a deeper

be understood as an attempt to communicate with the dead which is then achieved during the nine nights of suffering (Hamel 1932: 288). This is clearly some kind of initiation[2], whether "magical" or "religious". The American scholar Jere Fleck, who has worked in detail with Odin's hanging from the tree, refrains from committing himself on this point in that he uses both designations; and without any kind of theoretical discussion he argues for both the one and the other phenomenon (Fleck 1968: 101 ff. and 1971)[3]. There may be a point in that, as we shall see below, but Fleck, however, does not seem to have noticed it. Anyway, it is not fair to pretend that there is no problem at all involved, especially since van Hamel's interpretation has been severely criticized by those scholars who maintain that the phenomenon with which we are confronted is sacrifice. Further, it must be noticed that in the phenomenology of religion the two phenomena are almost mutually exclusive[4].

One of the most brilliant analyses of the four strophes in Háv. is that by J. L. Sauvé who is very critical towards van Hamel's insistence on the difference between "martyrdom" and "sacrifice". Sauvé, however, is

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difference. He who suffers martyrdom in order to obtain a certain object, extorts it from the actual possessor, whose magical power is overcome by the greater magical power of his opponent. Through martyrdom one actualizes his own magical power and, if one is only able to sustain the torture long enough, the possessor of the desired object will be compelled to surrender. But in the case of sacrifice the possessor can only be moved to grant the demand from his free will. Martyrdom is practiced against blind powers, such as the elements or magic, whereas a sacrifice is offered to a god who takes an interest in mankind generally or in a particular favourite. In appearence, however, the two will often have much in common and easily get mixed up" (1932: 266).

It is thus not quite clear at which phenomenological category van Hamel is aiming with his "martyrdom", but it is obvious that we are dealing with a tradition which accepts a radical distinction between religion and magic. This distinction is hardly tenable today, mainly because it is not operational. However, it seems reasonable to parallel "martyrdom" with certain kinds of initiation in that van Hamel agrees with Sijmons and Gering when they maintain that *gefinn Óðni* ought to be translated as "dem Óðinn geweiht". For a critical discussion of van Hamel, see Sauvé 1970: 179 f.

[2] For a characterization of the phenomenon of initiation, see Schjødt 1986.

[3] The closest Fleck comes to it in making up his mind is 1971: 398, where he wrote: "Óðinn's ritual inversion contains not only the standard elements of the initiation, but also incorporates features of a ritual sacrifice". Which of the elements, however, are seen as belonging to either complex is a problem he does not touch upon.

[4] See, for instance, F. Ström who maintains that fasting cannot belong to sacrifice, since it does not increase the value of the object (1947: 61), a statement which, however, is softened later on (1947:73), as we are told that both the self-hanging and sacrifices for Odin have a common denominator in the divination: "De sakrala och de magiska linjerna sammanstråla i en offerritual, vars huvudsyfte har varit att med det döende offret som medium tyda de tecken, som forma framtidens händelsemönster". Concerning the statement that fasting cannot belong to sacrifices, see below.

clearly in favor of seeing the rite as a sacrifice, and does not pay attention to the category of initiation. He is strongly influenced by Dumézil and uses much comparative material to support his theory. Thus he tries to compare the myth with the Indian *purushamedha* and also with the description by Adam of Bremen of the sacrifices in Uppsala which involve people being killed by hanging. We must look a little closer at Sauvé's argument, since, as mentioned, he has been more explicitly critical towards van Hamel than has been the case with other scholars. Sauvé says:

> The assertion that Odin is martyred, not sacrificed, pays no attention to the obvious and hardly inconsequential fact that he suffers precisely the same ritual death as might befall one of his human sacrificial victims. Odin does indeed die a ritual death by means of which he appropriates the power of death, symbolized in the runic magic that raises the dead to momentary eloquence. (1970: 180)

In this statement there are elements from both the terminology of sacrifice as well as that of initiation, and it seems in general that even Sauvé has not given sufficient reflection to the relation between the two categories. This is most conspicuous in his treatment of the relationship between Odin as the mythic model and the human sacrificial victims, in which it is difficult to maintain that the latter benefit from the action. This relationship is dealt with in relation to the *purushamedha,* where the identity between victim and sacrificer is stressed. But still, the relation between Odin and his human sacrificial victims seems to be more complicated than Sauvé is willing to admit.

As mentioned, it is first and foremost the description by Adam of Bremen which Sauvé compares to Odin's rite. In this description, however, there are differences as well as similarities in relation to Háv. Looking first at the similarities, we notice that the number nine is dominant in both sources: Odin's trial is going on during nine nights; the rituals in Uppsala take place every ninth year; nine victims of different species are sacrificed; the sacrifices last for nine days (schol. 141). The hanging itself is also common to both sources, i.e. both Odin and the victims in Uppsala are hanged from trees. It may also be a parallel that both Odin and the victims are wounded: Odin with a spear, whereas the victims are placed in the trees only after their blood has been given to the gods[5]. Finally the trees are sacred in both sources (although this is not said explicitly

[5] The combination of hanging and spear wound can be found in several sources of the North (e.g. the Vikar episode which we shall turn to below and Hálfssaga oc Hálfsrekka chap. 8). See also Ward 1970.

in Háv., there is no doubt that the tree in 138 is the most sacred of all trees, the world tree Yggdrasil).

But there are differences, too, in the two sources. The parallel just mentioned might as well be viewed as a difference, since it seems, by Adam, that the trees in the grove in Uppsala cannot be seen as cultic parallels to Yggdrasil. This is due to the information in schol. 138 concerning a tree which is no doubt the cultic counterpart of Yggdrasil, as this is described in Gylfaginning chap. 8 and Vǫluspá st. 19, both as to the size and the eternal greenness. This tree is standing close to a source, just as the world tree can be located in a position close to the source of Mimir or Urd (Vsp. 19); and this tree is probably not identical to any of the trees in the grove, their sacredness being primarily due to the death and decay of the victims. But even if this difference may be due to the general problems with the source value of Adam's work, there are others of a more serious kind. Most problematic among them is the fact that in Adam's description we are told nothing that can be compared to Háv. 139–141. This means that it is only part of the myth which has parallels in the cultic framework, as far as we can see from Adam's information. We could even maintain that the parallels we do find are relatively unimportant and are only to be found at the level of details, whereas the essential part, i.e., the combination of ritual death, acquisition of numinous knowledge, and a return to the world of the living has no counterpart in Adam's text[6]. Nevertheless, a fact is mentioned in the end of chapter 27 which might indicate that fertility, i.e., notions which — although it is rather dubious — might correspond to Odin's return to life, also played some part in the sacrificial feasts in Uppsala, namely, that the songs being performed during the feast were "several and indecent" (neniae multiplices et inhonestae), indicating that these songs which Adam did not want to relate in any detail probably had a sexual content. This, however, brings associations with sacrifices to the gods of physical fertility rather than to Odin. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that sacrifices by strangling were especially performed among the Indo-Europeans in connection with the gods of the first function, i.e., Odin in the North (Ward 1970: 123 ff.). It is not possible, then, to dismiss the relation between the sacrificial victims in Uppsala and Odin, but at the same time we must emphasize that the descriptions do not allow us to draw any certain conclusions concerning the kind of similarity at the semantic level between Odin on

[6] Beck 1967: 173 treats the similarities between the two texts, but does not mention the differences. Seen in relation to Sauvé's argument, however, it must be admitted that "some kind of" connection in the symbolic expression is at stake.

the tree and those victims who were sacrificed to him.

There is another incident which, no doubt, corresponds to Odin's performance, namely the killing of King Vikar, described in two sources, namely, Gautreks saga chap. 7 and in Gesta Danorum, p. 152 (the edition of Olrik and Ræder). In spite of some important differences between the two sources in their account of Starkad, their descriptions of the killing of Vikar show only minor differences. The significant context in relation to this subject is that Odin wants a human sacrifice in return for letting the wind blow in order that the ship with Vikar and his men can go on. As the lot falls on the king himself, the men agree that they will make a token sacrifice. Starkad, to whom Odin has promised three spans of life and other gifts, is the one who is going to perform the sacrifice. As he says, "now I give you to Odin" (*nú gef ek þik Óðni*) the harmless reed he is using turns into a spear, the stump Vikar is standing on falls from his feet, the calf's gut which is around Vikar's neck turns into a strong rope, and the twig to which the gut was tied becomes a real branch. Saxo's account is slightly different, but the result in both sources is that Vikar is killed as a sacrificial victim at the command of Odin.

There is no doubt that this sacrifice is a sacrifice to Odin, and that the way it is performed is quite in accord with Odin hanging in Háv. 138. But again we see that there is no parallel to 139–141, which once again accentuates the problems posed, when we are to compare the notions in Háv. and those lying behind Vikar's sacrifice. Thus, we are not able to say anything about whether the victims in Uppsala and Vikar are in any symbolic way believed to have gained knowledge through their hanging. But in both sources, the phenomenon we are dealing with seems to be best described as a do-ut-des sacrifice, especially in connection with Vikar, where it is said almost explicitly that Starkad and Odin are making a contract, according to which Starkad shall have three spans of life if he sends Vikar to Odin. It is of interest that, according to Gautreks saga, the words Starkad uses as he kills Vikar are *"nú gef ek þik Óðni"*, with the verb *gefa* used in connection with a do-ut-des sacrifice[7].

Thus, it is not so easy to compare the myth of Odin's hanging on the one hand and the rituals connected with the sacrifices in Uppsala and the killing of Vikar on the other. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there are similarities at the level of symbolic expression: the number nine, the

[7] Beck (1967: 106) maintains that the verb *gefa* cannot be used as a formula of dedication in relation to animal sacrifices. On the other hand she mentions several examples in which it is used in connection with human sacrifices (p. 96 ff.) which suggests that these sacrifices have a special position in the ideology of the Northmen.

combination of hanging and stabbing, and the handing over of the object to Odin. Sauvé does indeed put forward some strong arguments, and his conclusion, therefore, seems convincing. He says:

> Odin achieved a mighty victory over death when he dangled from the world tree for nine nights, and secured possession of the powerful runes, effective over the dead. (1970: 190)

It is reasonable to believe that this conclusion is close to reality, but the question is whether it is basically different from that of van Hamel, showing that Odin through his martyrdom is trying to communicate with the dead and the underworld. Van Hamel, too, saw that the manifestations of "martyrdom" and "sacrifice" might be difficult to distinguish, although, as he wrote, the conceptions behind the two phenomena were quite different (1932: 272). However, it does not seem so obvious that these conceptions are *that* different, if we cannot accept the definitions of van Hamel which are influenced by the evolutionistic framework in which he analyzed the myth (e.g. 1932: 266). There are indeed several points in symbolism, meaning, and function which are quite similar in both initiations and do-ut-des sacrifices. If we thus compare the quoted passage from Sauvé's article with the words of the French mythologist Renauld-Krantz, it is easy to see some important similarities:

> Dans la souffrance le monde lui devient interieur et ses secrets se révèlent à lui. Tel est à mon avis le sens psychologique et mystique du martyre volontaire d'Odin. La souffrance qu'il ressent a donc une valeur initiatique et doit être rapprochée de celle qui est toujours infligée dans les ceremonies d'initiation. (1972: 80 f.)

and further:

> Or ce qu'obtient Odin par le martyre qu'il s'inflige, c'est le *savoir magique* symbolisé par les runes. (1972: 82)

Both Sauvé and Renauld-Krantz thus see the runes and that knowledge of the *other world* with which they supply the subject as the essential goal of the action, whether they look upon it as a sacrifice or an initiation.

This leads to a more theoretical discussion of the structure of the two categories of rituals. In both the do-ut-des sacrifice and in the initiation, we notice four essential elements: 1) The subject who sends 2) an object to a 3) recipient who sends back 4) another object in return. This structure is evident in the do-ut-des sacrifices, whereas it is not quite so obvious in connection with initiations.

The realization of this structure is not new, since it was already investigated in the beginning of this century (Hubert and Mauss 1964: 100 f.), and the reason that it has not been applied to the myth of Odin on the tree is simply that here we have an identity between three elements (1, 2, 3) which are almost always separated in the cult[8]. Thus in the rituals, the subject is one or more humans, the object can be anything living or dead, and the recipient is one or more supernatural beings. The return-object may be anything: nice weather, health, food, fertility, etc.; and it may be numinous knowledge exemplified in the runes "effective over the dead" and the living, for that matter. In Háv. we also recognize these four elements, but here Odin is the subject as well as the object and the recipient, while the return-object is the runes and other kinds of numinous knowledge.

The *structure,* then, is parallel to that of an ordinary do-ut-des sacrifice. But van Hamel noticed that certain elements in the myth could not belong to a sacrifice, i.e., the suffering of the cold wind and of hunger and thirst (Hamel 1932: 267 ff. see also F. Ström 1947: 61), which would only make sense in an act of martyrdom. Such an assertion, however, would have to be constructed from argumenta ex silentio, and using these is very problematic in the case of old Norse religion. Sauvé seems to have shown some parallels from India which contradict the statement as well. Further, it is important to note that Odin is *both* subject and object, and that it is quite common that the sacrificer has to observe certain rules before he performs the ritual in order to separate him from his ordinary position.

Whatever the right explanation is, we must now proceed to investigate how the structure of initiation is related to the structure of the myth and to the structure of do-ut-des sacrifices.

During initiations, the initiate "gives" himself to something which is normally a social group or a socially (and religiously) separated category. This group or category is often under the protection of a certain god[9] whose "property" they become during initiation. It is therefore reasonable to maintain that this god is the recipient of the initiates. In return they get the rights and duties which are connected with this particular group,

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[8] How separated they are, in fact, could be discussed, since several scholars have correctly observed that the victim possesses part of the power of the subject and thus *is* part of the subject (Widengren 1969: 285); see also below.

[9] In most religious cultures we know different kinds of groups of people with special relationships to certain gods. In the North it has been shown clearly by Otto Höfler that the *Männerbünde* had a close connection to Odin (Höfler 1934).

and eventually knowledge of these rights and duties. Moreover, it is often necessary for the individual to acquire some kind of magical knowledge in order to be able to fulfil the functions of his new status, a knowledge which is probably most clearly seen in connection with initiations of the shamanic type. This indicates that the elements subject, object, recipient, and return object are also at stake in relation to initiation rituals; and here, in contrast to the do-ut-des sacrifices, it is the rule that subject and object are identical. In initiation it is thus the subject who gives himself (as an object) to the recipient, which may be a social group or a supernatural being (perhaps symbolically representing the group). The recipient, on the other hand, gives in return knowledge — a knowledge which aims at the attention of the practical functions of the new status and at the same time provides different kinds of numinous knowledge.

This structure is easy to recognize in the myth of Odin on the tree as well as in the structure of sacrifice, with the notable difference that most sacrifices operate with a distinction between subject and object, whereas the initiation rituals present us with an identification between the two. Speaking about "self sacrifice", however, there is no way of distinguishing the two categories; not in relation to the structure of the sequence or the horizontal structure, anyway.

As a provisional conclusion we can state, then, that the structure we face in the myth of Odin including a subject who is lacking some desired object and for that reason gives "something" to "somebody" who then negates the initial lack, can be seen in do-ut-des sacrifices as well as in initiations. This fact makes it understandable that scholars have classified Odin's act in both categories.

However, there are other levels than the structural one which make up a basis for a classification. In criticizing the Australian anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner, who discussed the criteria for distinguishing the two categories among aboriginals, van Baal noted that the object during sacrifice is destroyed, whereas in initiation it benefits from the ritual (Baal 1971: 189)[10]. We have to ask, therefore, whether Odin as the object is destroyed. Is he killed or is it only a token sacrifice, such as Höfler, for instance, proposed? On the one hand Höfler emphasized the necessity of interpreting the hanging as a symbolic death, and on the other he wrote: "Scheintötungen aber, die als Scheinopfer aufgebaut waren, kennen wir

[10] However, we must once again emphasize that it is appropriate at an analytical level to make a distinction between subject and object, and again, therefore, we must ask whether it is the subject or the object who benefits from the initiation ritual. We shall return to the problem below.

besonders in einer Kategorie zur Genüge: bei den Initiationsriten" (Höfler 1934: 237). Höfler thus succeeds in combining sacrifice and initiation, in drawing our attention to the symbolic death which is so often part of initiation rituals. In relation to Odin's position in Háv., it means that the four elements hanging, stabbing with a spear, starving, and exposure to the wind, separately or taken together, are symbols of death; or, in other words: the treatment which Odin is exposed to and which initiates all over the world are exposed to can be understood as equivalent to the destruction of the object in sacrifice. For, just as the object of sacrifice through its destruction is transformed to a state in which it is able to reach the gods, so it is necessary for the initiates to change their state to that of liminality in the sense of van Gennep and Victor Turner in order to reach contact with the "other world". And this is most often obtained through a kind of maltreatment symbolizing death. Neither on the symbolic level, then, does there seem to be any significant difference between the two categories in relation to the destruction of the object in that we may, in a certain way, see the initiation as a symbolic self sacrifice with a symbolic destruction to match. But just as the symbolical meaning is of great importance here, it is problematic when, for instance, Höfler emphasizes the importance of drawing a distinction between a real death and a symbolic one in relation to Háv. (Höfler 1934: 232 and 236): in a mythical context, this distinction is of no importance, since a "real" death and a symbolic death, from a semantic point of view, are exactly the same[11].

The significant element in Háv. is that Odin is transformed. Whether or not he is destroyed is of lesser importance. If death, however, in itself must be seen as a destruction, then of course he is destroyed, just as is the case in all rituals of initiation, operating with the symbolism of death and rebirth. But in that case, the criterion which van Baal used in order to distinguish

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[11] In the rituals, of course, it is different. Here it may be decisive in the categorization whether the "victim" is actually killed or just goes through a symbolic death (not to speak of the difference in the social and psychological implications). In relation to the distinction between sacrifice and initiation, this is of course also important, since a "real" hanging must be an act belonging to sacrifice, whereas a symbolic killing of a human being must belong to the category of initiation. It must be maintained, however, that a "real" death in the mythic universe does not have to be any different from a symbolic death in the ritual universe, since in the myths there are no problems connected with a return to the world of the living; the actors are gods or humans who are protected by divine intervention. In relation to the ideology of the religious people themselves, it must be maintained, too, that in ritual a symbolic death *is* a death. In relation to the myth of Odin, we should not, therefore, make any sharp distinction between a "real" and a symbolic death.

between "sacrifice" and "anointment" loses its meaning in that it is wrong to maintain that "in the latter the action is to the benefit of the object, in the former the object is made a victim". The object is always a "victim", while the subject always "benefits", both in sacrifices and initiations. And this also goes for Odin's acquisition of numinous knowledge. The problem is that Odin is both subject and object: he benefits as subject, but is destroyed as object. For analytical reasons, it has been convenient here to draw a distinction between subject and object, but, as we have seen, the two are identical both in Háv. and in initiations in general. And even in do-ut-des sacrifices, it is not possible to maintain that subject and object are totally distinct. Although this is the case physically, it is important to note that besides the declared goal of the ritual, which is to gain something — the return object — through the sacrificed object, it is often the case that symbolically the object is regarded as being part of the subject himself, as is known in the institution of gift-giving in almost all archaic cultures[12]. Giving includes an expression of friendship and creates bonds between subject and recipient[13], burdening the latter with the obligation of giving a return gift (e.g. Háv. 42 and 145, see also Baal 1976: 163 ff.). In sacrifices, the gift functions, then, as a kind of mediator between man and the supernatural (Hubert and Mauss 1964: 11) since man is giving part of himself. Whereas the communication between this world and the other in sacrifice is thus "indirect" so far as an object more or less different from the subject is invested (we may speak of a pars-pro-toto relation), in the initiation it is "direct" because the subject himself becomes more or less "supernatural" during the liminal phase. He gets directly, as a whole individual, into contact with the supernatural. Thus it is possible, of course, to maintain the distinction between initiation and sacrifice, but it is important to note the parallel structure in which it is only the relation between subject and object that differs: identification and difference.

In connection with the strophes in Háv. it has been ascertained in this paper that it is not reasonable to argue, as Sauvé does, that the act of Odin must be classified as a sacrifice and not as an initiation. The identity between subject and object definitely points rather to the category of initiation. On the other hand, it should be admitted that, in the face of the

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[12] See Baal 1975: 26 ff. and 52 ff., and explicitly in Baal 1976: 174: "Up to an extent the sacrificer is identical with the victim". The most famous and perhaps best analysis of the gift institution is still Marcel Mauss' *Essay sur le don.*

[13] That this is the case also in the North is obvious from many examples (see Hamre 1981: 653 ff.), which among others has been analyzed by Grønbech (1955/2: 49 ff.).

mythical example, it is extremely difficult even to keep the identification between subject and object as the decisive point, since what seems to be an initiation in the myth, the god being both subject and object, might become the mythical model for sacrifices, such as Sauvé himself has shown. Another criterion for a distinction which can only be mentioned here, but which no doubt is of some importance, is the notion of numinous knowledge as the return object. In initiations, this object will always be knowledge which brings the subject to an irreversible higher level, whereas this is not the case in sacrifices.

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MARIANNE GÖRMAN

Influences from the Huns on Scandinavian Sacrificial Customs during 300–500 AD

Introduction

Votive offerings may be our main source of knowledge concerning the religion of the Iron Age before the Vikings. By the term votive offering I refer to objects placed in the ground, mainly in lakes and peat-bogs, with a sacrificial intention. Peat-bogs, as well as springs and lakes, were in prehistoric times used as holy places for whole districts, often for long periods of time. Sacrificial weapon finds are an important category of votive offerings from the Iron Age. Objects typical of this group of finds are weapons and other military equipment, but they also contain personal items, household utensils, tools, boats, carriages, and horse utensils. Many of these objects carry marks of combat, but in addition they have been deliberately destroyed, cut into pieces, and sometimes even ravaged by fire. The purpose of this violent devastation is generally considered to have been the intention to make everyday use impossible and to consecrate them to the gods (see Görman 1987: 131 f. and the references there).

In southern Sweden, Denmark, and the southern part of Schleswig a number of similar weapon finds have been made, generally characterized as war-booty offerings. The find from Hjortspring in Denmark, dated to the third or second century B.C., is the oldest of these war booty sacrifices. Most of them were, however, deposited from the end of the second century to the beginning of the sixth century AD.[1]

A number of our comprehensive finds of weapons were already excavated and the results published last century by Conrad Engelhardt. He was responsible for the excavations of Torsbjerg (1863), Nydam (1865), Kragehul (1867) and Vimose (1869). In 1865, soon after the publication

[1] Concerning the dating of the Hjortspring find see Jensen 1982: 258; concerning the other finds see Fabech 1989: 108.

of the hoards from Torsbjerg and Nydam, J. J. A. Worsaae asked in his publication *Om Slesvigs eller Sønderjyllands Oldtidsminder* if the elaborate buryings of military objects could perhaps have been made according to specific religious customs, setting the victors under an obligation to sacrifice the captured animals, as well as part of the other booty, to the gods after the battle, among other things by depositing it in holy lakes or nearby peat-bogs. ("... om ikke de omhyggelige Nedlægninger netop av krigeriske Gjenstande i Moserne kunne tænkes at være skete ifölge bestemte religiöse Skikke, som böd de Seirende, efter Slagene baade at offre de fangne Dyr og en Deel af det övrige Bytte til Guderne, bl.A. ved at nedsænke det i hellige Söer eller nuværende Moser" Worsaae 1865: 57).

The number of finds has considerably increased during the past 35 years through the comprehensive excavations at Ejsbøl (Ørsnes 1988) and Illerup (Ilkjær and Lønstrup 1983), both on Jylland, and at Skedemosse on Öland (Hagberg 1967). These new finds are in general considered to support the suggestion of Worsaae to interpret the extensive burying of war booty as sacrifices to the gods. A full description of the sacrificial weapon hoards which could give us answers to specific questions has been missing for a long time. But recently the Danish archaeologist Charlotte Fabech published a study of 38 Danish and Swedish finds, traditionally interpreted as sacrifices of war booty, which she examines with regard to their contents, the ways the objects have been treated, the different ways of depositing, and the environments. In her investigation she draws the conclusion that the finds from Sösdala and Fulltofta in Skåne and from Vennebo in Västergötland should not be interpreted as sacrificial weapon hoards, but rather as burial offerings. She writes that they are remains of a death-cult which was part of the funeral ceremonies of some areas in southern Sweden ("... efterladenskaber efter en dødekult, der var en del av visse sydsvenske områders gravlægningsceremoniel" Fabech 1989: 109).

In her discussion Fabech calls attention to the fact that this group of finds has counterparts in Eastern and Central Europe. The interpretation of some new finds from the Huns, such as Pannonhalma, together with current reinterpretations of some older finds, such as Szeged-Nagyszéksós, give us a good idea of the funeral rites of the Huns. István Bóna describes them as "Scheiterhaufenfund" (Bóna 1979: 297 ff.). The deposits from Sösdala, Fulltofta and Vennebo are contemporary with some of these finds from the Huns. According to Fabech they are to be interpreted in the same way as these, i.e. as "ligfærdsofre", reflecting a Hunnish tradition. She says further, without developing this thought, that people in Scandinavia, who

had close relations to the Huns, may have assimilated their nomadic lifestyle as well as certain myths and rites. This would, however, not have to imply that they had picked up the ideas behind these traditions and practices (Fabech 1989: 113 f.).

Another interesting group of sacrificial finds consists of horses, sacrificed in a specific way. These sacrifices, too, seem to be connected to eastern cultures. During certain offerings where horses were sacrificed, the participants preserved the animals' heads, feet and tails. Horse sacrifices of this type are known from a few Danish and one Swedish peat-bog, from the Sorte Muld site on Bornholm, and possibly from a few Danish graves. Similar finds have been made on the Continent, and the Huns have been conceived as the mediators of this form of horse sacrifice (Klindt-Jensen 1959: 51 ff.).

In my opinion there is a connection between these two groups of finds. The hoards from Sösdala, Fulltofta and Vennebo on one hand and the sacrificial finds from southern Scandinavia, consisting of crania, extremity bones, and caudal vertebrae from horses on the other hand, share the same cultural and religious background. They can both be connected to the Huns. Both belong to the same time, i.e. the late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period. Thus, burial sacrifices and horse sacrifices can both be regarded as indications that rites, influenced by equestrian nomads from the east, were practised in southern Scandinavia during this time, i.e. the fourth to sixth centuries AD. When people have assimilated and exercised religious rites with such specific traits, it indicates, in my opinion, that they have also picked up the underlying ideas. They need not have accepted the religious conceptions of the Huns in full, but at least to such an extent that it was meaningful to perform similar rites. In this article I intend to investigate the form and content of these religious practices in the surroundings from which they emanated, in order to obtain an impression of their meaning in the new surroundings where they were executed.

The Huns and their Influence in Europe

The Huns were horsemen of Altaic origin who played an important role in the history of Europe during the fourth and fifth centuries AD. It is under debate whether they can also be identified with Hsiung-nu, who attacked China during the centuries B.C., and who is well known through Chinese

annals. The Huns spread westwards from the steppes of central Asia, and around 370 AD they conquered the Ostrogothic kingdom of Ermanarik, situated north of the Black Sea.

Thus, the realm of the Huns grew up in the eastern parts of Central Europe, and its central area was situated on the plains of Hungary. They reached the height of their power under the command of Attila, who reigned between 434 and 454 AD. During this period their sphere of power stretched from the Volga to the Rhine and from the Danube to the Baltic. (The realm of the Huns is shown in figure 2.) Many Germanic peoples, such as the Ostrogoths and the Gepids, were tributary people to the Huns. Even the powerful Byzantine empire paid tribute to them at times. The attacks of Attila towards the west became more and more intense, and in 451 the Huns, together with the Visigoths and the Franks, fought a great battle against the Romans and their allies in the vicinity of Troyes in Champagne. On this occasion Attila and his auxiliary troops were defeated. After the death of Attila in 453 his mighty empire soon fell into pieces.

Our knowledge of the Huns is relatively good, as we have access to archaeological finds as well as written sources. The Huns themselves have not left any written documents, but they appear in contemporary historical works produced within the boundaries of the Roman empire. The classical authors could follow the Huns from around 370 until 469, when they ceased to act as organized units. Particularly valuable is the section on the Huns in the Roman history of 31 volumes written by Ammianus Marcellinus, which covers the period 98–378 AD and which was finished around 390. Other important works are the writings of Priscus of Panium, of which only fragments have been preserved. Priscus himself visited the court of king Attila in 448 and gave an eye witness report of what happened there. Parts of the account of Priscus have been preserved in the so called Getica, written by the Ostrogothic historiographer Jordanes. This work, which dates from the middle of the sixth century, rests on fragments from Priscus as well as extracts from Cassiodoros' lost history of the Goths.[2]

A number of different archaeological finds in Europe give evidence of eastern influences during the period c. 150–600 AD. The influences during the latter part of this period originate to a great extent from the Huns. This applies, for instance, to the deformation of skulls, metal mirrors,

[2] A detailed historical account as well as a discussion of the sources is given by Maenchen-Helfen 1973; cf. Thompson 1948.

earrings made of round thread, cauldrons and diadems of eastern type, sword amulets, long two-edged swords, short one-edged swords, bows with bone mountings, riding whips (nagaika), horse equipment, as well as horse sacrifices with the preservation of head, feet and tail.[3]

The deformation of skulls, mentioned above, is especially striking. It meant an extension of the skull which was accomplished in early infancy. (Figure 1) This custom, which was well known among the Huns, became the height of fashion among different Germanic tribes during the glorious days of the Huns. Artificial deformation of the skull was executed on both men and women among the Ostrogoths and the Gepids. Among the Lombards and the Burgundians this custom seems to have comprised women only. There are proofs of this habit as far north as the central parts of Germany and eastern France. (Figure 2) When the reign of Attila fell apart, this practise went out of use among the Germanic peoples (Werner 1956: 5 ff.; Klindt-Jensen 1959: 51 ff.).

Burial Sacrifices?

The Sösdala Find

In 1929 some workers digging gravel at Sösdala in N. Mellby in Skåne found a treasure which they shared among themselves. In spite of this, the main part of the treasure was saved through a resolute act of intervention by two private persons. One of these, the elementary-school teacher C. Mellton, carried out a supplementary investigation on the site of the find and found some additional objects. In the following year a few more finds were made. The finds from 1929–1930, usually called Sösdala I, comprise c. 250 objects. At a new digging of gravel in 1961 around thirty more objects were found c. 60 m east of the site of the earlier finds (Sösdala II).

No systematic archaeological investigation of the Sösdala area has yet been accomplished, although a few small investigations have been made. The sites of the finds are situated on the top of a big gravel ridge in the close vicinity of the cremation grave-field at Vätteryd. The whole area is greatly affected by the gravel digging, among other things for the purpose of road construction, which has been going on there. It is also estimated

[3] Concerning eastern influences see Werner 1956; Klindt-Jensen 1957; Klindt-Jensen 1959; Bóna 1979.

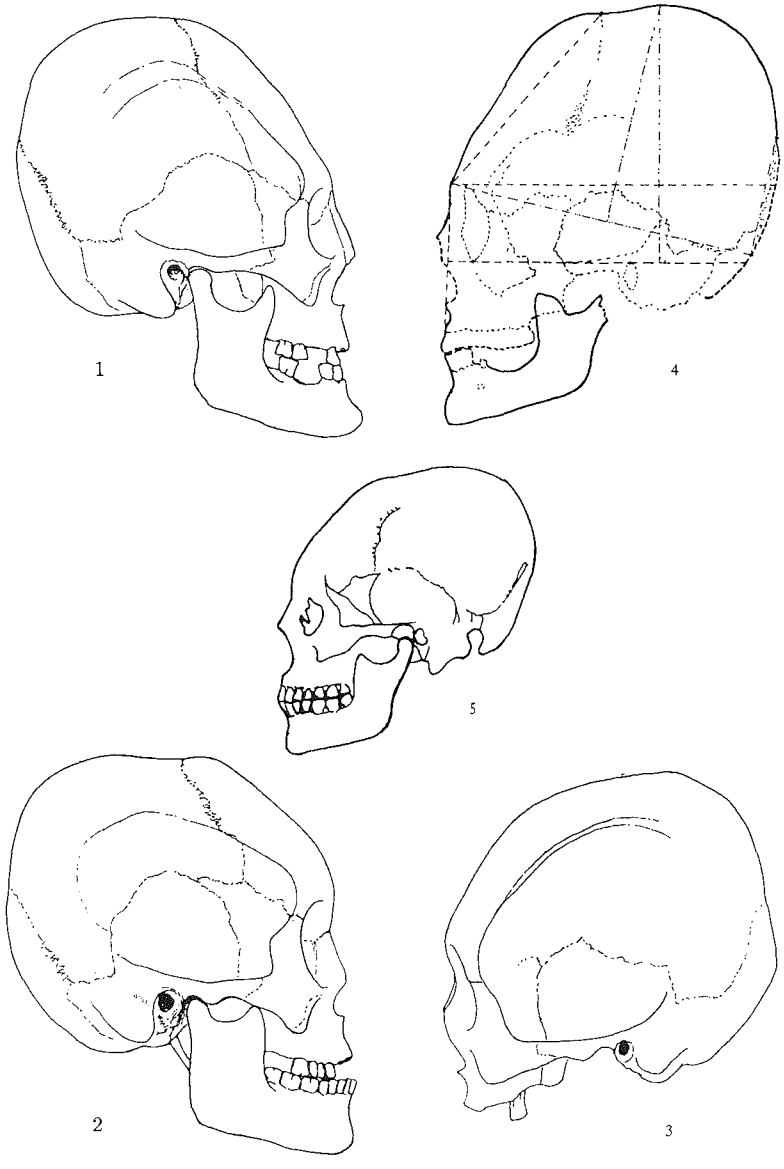

Figure 1. Artificial deformation of the skull became the height of fashion during the Migration Period among the Germanic peoples who were under the influence of the Huns. This picture shows extended crania, originating from graves at Tsjung-Tipä in Talas, Khazakstan (1, 2, 3), Obermüllern, Sachsen (4) and Ingersleben, Thüringen (5) (Werner 1956/2: Tafel 33).

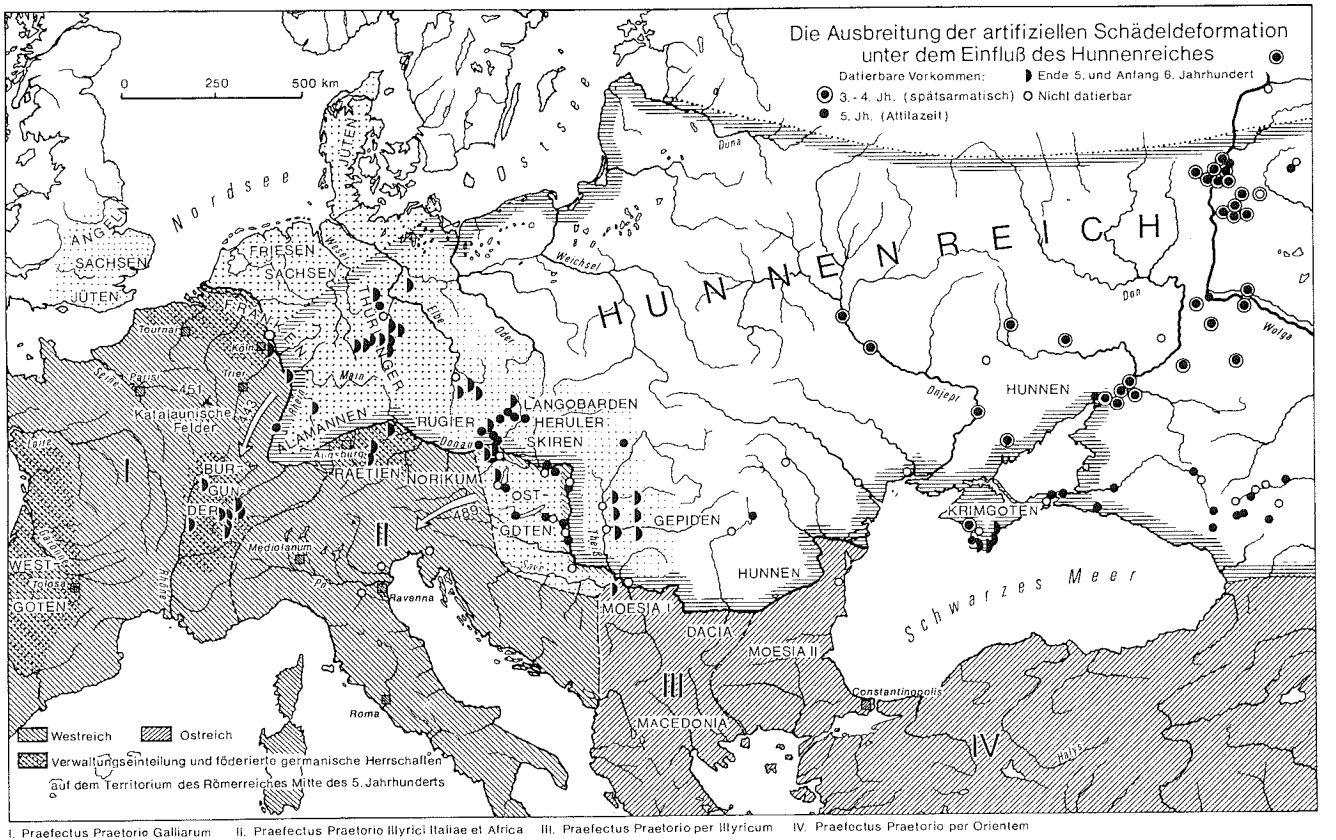

Figure 2. This picture depicts the realm of the Huns as well as the extension of the deformation of skulls, influenced by the Huns (Menghin 1980: 195).

that parts of the Vätteryd grave-field, situated nearby, have been lost through road construction (Strömberg 1961/1: 62 f.).

The Sösdala hoard consists of horse mountings of silver and bronze belonging to at least five headstalls and five saddles. Some time during the first part of the fifth century AD they were laid down in five heaps, only spit deep, at the top of the ridge. Four of the heaps were situated within an area of 12 m^2. Before deposition the objects were sorted according to function and material and were exposed to deliberate damage. In one of the heaps a headstall of silver was placed, in another one of bronze, and in the remaining three there are bronze mountings for at least five horse saddles. The heaps were then covered with earth and/or a layer of stones the size of heads.[4]

In 1931 the question was raised as to whether the finds from Sösdala should be regarded as sacrificial weapon hoards (Norberg 1931: 111). Hagberg, who treats Sösdala I and II in connection with his discussion of the interpretation of the finds from Skedemosse, does not take a definite stand on this question. He conceives the group of finds from Sösdala as *pars-pro-toto* sacrifices, devoted to a god with a special connection to the horse (Hagberg 1967/2: 70). Charlotte Fabech, who has recently made a thorough investigation of most of the sacrificial weapon finds, repudiates the interpretation of the Sösdala finds as sacrifices of war booty. She connects them with the finds from Fulltofta in Skåne and Vennebo in Västergötland, and she further combines this group of deposits with a number of finds from Eastern and Central Europe, which have been interpreted as Hunnish burial sacrifices (Fabech 1987: 266 ff.).

The Fulltofta Find

In Fulltofta, situated only 15 km from Sösdala, a find of horse equipment was made in 1896. The objects are reported to have been lying c. 90 cm below the surface of the earth. As in Sösdala, the site of the hoard was on the top of a gravel ridge, about two km from Östra Ringsjön. A few hundred metres from the place where the find was made, two not yet investigated grave monuments are located, and two km farther away is a big grave-field, Nunnäs, from the Iron Age. This burial place has the same character as the Vätteryd grave-field in Sösdala.

The Fulltofta find consists of 23 bronze mountings belonging to at least one saddle and one headstall. Two of these mountings are more magnificent than the others and have gilded silver coatings. Some of

[4] Concerning the Sösdala finds see Fabech 1987: 103 ff.

them carry traces of intentional damage. Just like Sösdala I and II the objects from Fulltofta belong to the first part of the fifth century AD.[5]

The Vennebo Find

The information on the find from Vennebo in Roasjö in Västergötland is less exhaustive than the two cases discussed above. The objects are reported to have been found in the same place, but on three different occasions, during ground work in 1874. It is unclear whether the deposit was made in a peat-bog or in ordinary soil. This find, too, consists of horse equipment. It contains slightly more than 40 silver and bronze mountings, belonging to at least four headstalls, two saddles and one harness. Most of the mountings were deliberately damaged before being laid in the ground. This hoard can be dated to the first part of the fifth century AD. Thus it is contemporary with the finds from Sösdala and Fulltofta.[6]

Common Traits in the three Finds

With some hesitation, because of the incomplete information, Fabech attributes the Vennebo find to the same group as Sösdala I and II and Fulltofta. This group is characterized by the following traits: The content was made up of precious saddles and harness. In several cases the objects show sign of having been subjected to deliberate damage. The mountings are broken apart and distorted. The horse equipment was laid in gravel ridges close to lakes and peat-bogs, where it was placed in small heaps just below ground level. The heaps contain no bones of animals or men. In the cases of Sösdala I and II and Fulltofta, the graves found within a distance of 100–500 m are probably contemporary. All of these finds can be dated to 400–450 AD (Fabech 1987: 266 f.; Fabech 1989: 113).

Similar Finds on the Continent

The three finds mentioned above are the only ones of this kind known at present in Scandinavia, but there are counterparts in Eastern and Central Europe. These hoards contain splendidly ornamented saddle and harness equipment in silver and gold, dresses decorated in gold, weapons, such as swords, daggers, bows, arrows, and bronze cauldrons. Often the weapons are ornamented in gold, too. Some objects were subjected to deliberate damage. They were folded together or torn to pieces and sometimes even

[5] Concerning the Fulltofta find see Fabech 1987: 132 f.
[6] Concerning the Vennebo find see Fabech 1987: 84 f.

damaged by fire. They were deposited in the ground in heaps at a small depth. No traces of human bones, burned or unburned, have been found in the heaps.

Thus, there are several striking similarities between the two groups of finds. The following common traits can be distinguished: In both cases the hoards contain magnificent saddle and harness equipment and weapons, which have been subjected to damage and deposited in shallow pits close to graves. The finds on the Continent date from the end of the fourth century to the middle of the fifth century, while the Scandinavian finds can be dated to the first part of the fifth century (Fabech 1987: 272).

The recent finds at Zovtnev Velkotokmac in the Ukraine and Pokrovsk in southern Russia are examples of deposits of this type from Eastern Europe. István Bóna has discussed these finds. He argues that they give us knowledge of the rites of the Huns in connection with interments. He claims that research until now has failed to take these rites into account when interpreting the finds, and he claims that they can even contribute to the understanding of older finds, such as those from Jendrzychowice in Silesia and Szeged-Nagyszéksós on the Hungarian puszta. (In the vicinity of the last of these places, Ruga, Bleda and Attila are considered to have had their principal headquarters.) Many earlier hoards with incomplete documentation have been interpreted as grave finds. According to Bóna they should rather be interpreted as "Scheiterhaufenfund". Bóna points out that analogous ritual customs have been documented, for instance among the Avars and Turkish tribes around a hundred years later. Among these people the dead man was buried dressed in expensive clothes and together with his personal items. Thereafter a meal was eaten, consisting of one of the dead man's horses. The remains of the horse were placed on a pyre, together with weapons and horse equipment. In that connection the objects were often exposed to deliberate damage, for instance by being broken apart. After that the burned gifts were buried together with the unburned splendid outfit close to the ground level and not far from the grave (Bóna 1979: 310 ff.).

Fabech has noted the interpretation of Bóna and convincingly argued that the finds from Sösdala, Fulltofta, and probably even Vennebo, should be understood as sacrifices in connection with burials, by analogy with the finds from the Huns. I think Fabech is right in her interpretation of these deposits from southern Sweden. In my opinion the similarities between these and the hoards from the Continent are best explained by the hypothesis that the people who deposited the finds in Sösdala, Fulltofta, and Vennebo had ideas of death, funeral, and the life to come which were

influenced by the ideas of the Huns. Hence it is interesting to investigate whether further information can be obtained on the behaviour of the Huns and their thoughts on the problems in question.

Written Sources Concerning the Rites of the Huns at Death and Burial

The ceremonies among the Huns in connection with death and burial are well known through various ancient authors. Priscus' Fragment No. 23 describes the death and funeral of Attila. This account also appears in Jordanes' Getica. In the Armenian chronicle Patmuti^{c}iwn Aluaniç, ascribed to Movsēs Dasxuranci, who is sometimes called Movsēs Kalankatuaci, there is a very vivid description of a strava, i.e. a funeral feast, among the Huns in Caucasus in the beginning of the seventh century AD. Here I give both descriptions, starting with the account of Jordanes of the events after the death of Attila. Jordanes reports:

tunc, ut gentis illius mos est, crinium parte truncata informes facies cavis turpavere vulneribus, ut proeliator eximius non femineis lamentationibus et lacrimis, sed sanguine lugeretur virile.

...

Then, as is the custom of that race, they plucked out the hair of their heads and made their faces hideous with deep wounds, that the renowned warrior might be mourned, not by effeminate wailings and tears, but by the blood of men.

...

cuius manes quibus a sua gente honoratae sunt, pauca de multis dicere non omittamus. in mediis si quidem campis et intra tenturia sirica cadavere conlocato spectaculum admirandum et sollemniter exhibetur. nam de tota gente Hunnorum lectissimi equites in eo loco, quo erat positus, in modum circensium cursibus ambientes, facta eius cantu funereo tali ordine referebant.

We shall not omit to say a few words about the many ways in which his shade was honoured by his race. His body was placed in the midst of a plain and lay in state in a silken tent as a sight for men's admiration. The best horsemen of the entire tribe of the Huns rode around in circles, after the manner of circus games, in the place to which he had been brought and told of his deeds in a funeral dirge in the following manner:

"praecipuus Hunnorum rex Attila, patre genitus Mundzuco, fortissimarum gentium dominus, qui inaudita ante se potentia solus Scythica et Germanica regna possedit nec

"The chief of the Huns, King Attila, born of his sire Mundiuch, lord of bravest tribes, sole possessor of the Scythian and German realms — powers unknown before — captured cities and terrified

non utraque Romani urbis imperia captis civitatibus terruit et, ne praedae reliqua subderentur, placatus praecibus annuum vectigal accepit: cumque haec omnia proventu felicitatis egerit, non vulnere hostium, non fraude suorum, sed gente incolume inter gaudia laetus sine sensu doloris occubuit. quis ergo hunc exitum putet, quem nullus aestimat vindicandum?"

both empires of the Roman world and, appeased by their prayers, took annual tribute to save the rest from plunder. And when he had accomplished all this by the favor of fortune, he fell, not by wound of the foe, nor by treachery of friends, but in the midst of his nation at peace, happy in his joy and without sense of pain. Who can rate this as death, when none believes it calls for vengeance?"

postquam talibus lamentis est defletus, stravam super tumulum eius quam appellant ipsi ingenti commessatione concelebrant, et contraria invicem sibi copulantes luctu funereo mixto gaudio explicabant, noctuque secreto cadaver terra reconditum copercula primum auro, secundum argento, tertium ferri rigore communiunt, significantes tali argumento potentissimo regi omnia convenisse: ferrum, quod gentes edomuit, aurum et argentum, quod ornatum rei publicae utriusque acceperit. addunt arma hostium caedibus adquisita, faleras vario gemmarum fulgore praetiosas et diversi generis insignia, quibus colitur aulicum decus. et, ut tantis divitiis humana curiositas arceretur, operi deputatos detestabili mercede trucidarunt, emersitque momentanea mors sepelientibus cum sepulto. (Jordanes 1882: XLIX, 255–258)

When they had mourned him with such lamentations, a *strava,* as they called it, was celebrated over his tomb with great revelling. They gave way in turn to the extremes of feeling and displayed funeral grief alternating with joy. Then in the secrecy of night they buried his body in the earth. They bound his coffins, the first with gold, the second with silver and the third with the strength of iron, showing by such means that these three things suited the mightiest of kings; iron because he subdued the nations, gold and silver because he received the honors of both empires. They also added the arms of foemen won in the fight, trappings of rare worth, sparkling with various gems, and ornaments of all sorts whereby princely state is maintained. And that so great riches might be kept from human curiosity, they slew those appointed to the work — a dreadful pay for their labor; and thus sudden death was the lot of those who buried him as well as of him who was buried. (Translation by Charles C. Mierow)

Movsēs Dasxuranci likewise reports in Patmuti^{c}iwn Ałuanic how the Huns caused themselves deep wounds in the cheeks and limbs as a sign of grief. Here follows his account of a strava.

Possessing completely anarchical minds they stumble into every sort of error, beating drums and whistling over corpses, inflicting bloody sabre and dagger cuts on the cheek and limbs, and engaging naked in sword fights — O hellish sight — at the graves, man against man and troop against troop, all stripped for battle. Numerous groups wrestled with each other and in the orgy performed

swift gallops on horseback, wheeling this way and that. Some were occupied in weeping and wailing, others in a game of diabolical fury. They played their games and danced their dances with obscene acts, sunk in benighted filth and deprived of the light of the Creator. (Dasxurançi 1961: Ch. 40)

Jordanes' description of the ceremonies at the death and funeral of Attila in 453 share several traits with the account of Movsēs Dasxurançi of the burial rites of the Huns in the seventh century. They both mention the self-inflicted wounds of the participants, the abrupt changes of mood, and the furious rides. Jordanes says that those who had buried the king were killed in order to prevent plundering. Priscus may have misinterpreted this. It may have been a matter of human sacrifice. Furthermore, Movsēs mentions several specific elements, such as sword fighting, wrestling, and dancing, while Jordanes only writes about a drinking bout. In the report of Movsēs Dasxurançi the strava is characterized by an almost ecstatic and orgiastic atmosphere. Precisely this quality could perhaps explain the repudiation of the funeral rites of the Huns, which is expressed in another context in the Armenian chronicle. The Hunnish chieftain Alp^{c} Ilut^{c}uēr is said to have especially underlined three things after having been converted to Christianity. In chapter 41 it is said:

Little by little he strove to abolish the frenzied laments for the dead and the bewitched swordfights, considering the religion of his fathers abominable and unclean, and to destroy the altars of Aspandiat and sacrifices to other false gods in favour of the worship of the living God ... (Dasxurançi 1961: Ch. 41)

As is evident, the repudiation has first of all the burial rites in view. Only then does the text refer to the cult of Aspandiat and other false gods.

Priscus, Jordanes, and Movsēs Dasxurançi all describe what could take place at the funerals of important leaders among the Huns on the Continent. The archaeological finds give us reason to believe that feasts of a similar form and atmosphere were also performed at Sösdala, Fulltofta and Vennebo.

Horse Sacrifices

Finds from Southern Scandinavia Containing Crania, Extremity Bones, and Caudal Vertebrae from Horses

Another group of sacrificial deposits which seems to have been influenced by equestrian nomads from the east consists of horse sacrifices where certain parts of the horses have been preserved. Several finds of this kind

have been made in Denmark and southern Sweden. Shortly after 1950 Ole Klindt-Jensen made a coherent account of all the known deposits of crania, extremity bones, and caudal vertebrae from horses. He also discussed the context in which these horse sacrifices were executed[7].

During the excavation of the abundant Sorte Muld site on Bornholm a hollow was found in the ground, 80 × 85 cm wide and 18 cm deep, close to one of the houses. It contained the cranium of a horse and the lower parts of the legs of a horse, which had been cut off. (Figure 3) The cavity also contained a few vertebrae and some fragments of clay vessels. The bones were not split for marrow or gnawed by dogs, which is very unusual for bones found in a site. The cavity is contemporary with the houses in Sorte Muld and belongs to the Migration Period, probably around 500 AD. Klindt-Jensen interprets the bones as the remains of a horse sacrifice (Klindt-Jensen 1957: 83 ff.; Klindt-Jensen 1959: 56).

Other finds with the same combination of bones, i.e. crania and extremity bones from horses, have been made in a number of Danish peat-bogs and on Swedish territory. Sometimes the tongue has been cut out and the tail has been put into the animal's mouth. The biggest find originates from Valmosen at Rislev on Sjælland. It contains as many as 11 pairs of horse feet, and a slightly smaller number of crania. The skulls bear marked traces of strokes, which shows that the animals were put to death by a stroke on the forehead. The remains were assembled within an area of 9 × 9.5 m. Bones from two human beings and from some other animals were also found there. The humans may have been killed by hanging, as no cutting traces were found. Unlike the horses, the other animals were represented by the main parts of their skeletons, and the bones were often split for marrow. In the peat-bog a number of wooden stakes and scattered stones were also found. The find is dated to c. 300–400 AD (Klindt-Jensen 1957: 83 f.).

We know a few further finds of the same type from peat-bogs on Jylland, Sjælland and Lolland, as well as from Skedemosse on Öland. The combination of crania, extremity bones, and in some cases caudal vertebrae from horses is the same.[8] Perhaps we can find remains of the same combination of horses' crania and bones in the deposits from a cavity close to the abundant grave at Varpelev on Sjælland, which originates from the late Roman Iron Age, and from a cremation grave on southern Bornholm from the late Iron Age, i.e. after 400 AD (Klindt-Jensen 1957: 84).

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[7] See above all Klindt-Jensen 1957: 83 ff., but also Klindt-Jensen 1959: 51 ff.

[8] Concerning Skedemosse see Hagberg 1964: 226; Hagberg 1967: 82; concerning the Danish peat-bogs see Klindt-Jensen 1957: 294.

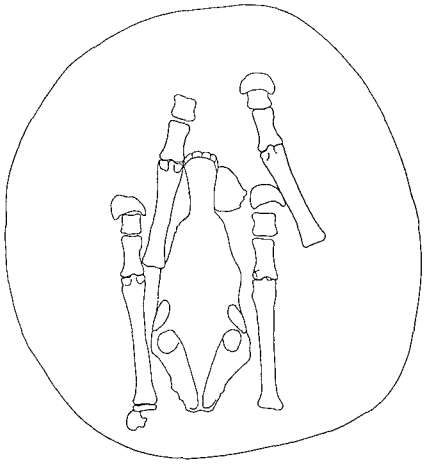

Figure 3. A cavity from the Sorte Muld site on Bornholm, containing a cranium and extremity bones from a horse (Klindt-Jensen 1957: 83).

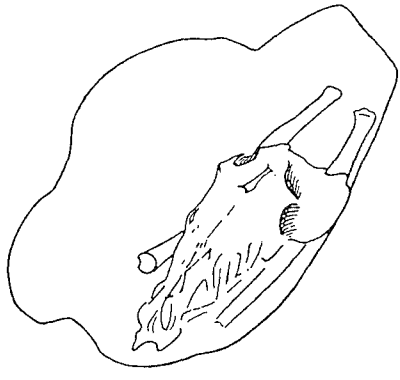

Figure 4. A cavity containing a cranium and the feet of a horse, from the Bajtal-Tschapkan grave field in northern Caucasus (Klindt-Jensen 1959: 55).

Thus, we can certify that the habit of laying down crania and extremity bones of horses in cavities, peat-bogs, and perhaps even in graves, occurred during a limited period of the Iron Age, but on the other hand it seems to have been rather widely spread. Evidence of this custom can be found from the latter part of the Roman Iron Age, and it seems to have disappeared before the Viking Age (Klindt-Jensen 1957: 84). Only horses were subjected to this peculiar ritual treatment. Thus, the underlying ideas seem to have been particularly tied to the horse.

Similar Finds on the Continent

Analogues to the hoards from southern Scandinavia are known from Central Europe and from the southern parts of Eastern Europe. I would like to exemplify this by mentioning a grave in Leuna in central Germany. This grave is especially interesting, as its content makes it possible to date the grave to 200–400 AD. Close to the grave a cavity was found, with a diameter of c. 70 cm and a depth of 65 cm, containing the cranium of a horse, surrounded by extremity bones.

This grave in Leuna is not unique, but comparable finds are known from Slovakia and Hungary from the third to the seventh century. In some cases the graves in question contained human skeletons of Mongolian type or

objects connected with eastern nomadic cultures. The custom of laying down horses' skulls and feet in the graves already appears in southern Russia in the fourth century AD, perhaps even earlier. Reliable proofs are found in the burial places at Prokovsk and Novogrigorievka in southern Russia. Still further eastwards in the Altai and Yenisei areas crania and feet from horses have been found in graves from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries.[9] (Figure 4)

Written Testimonies Concerning Horse Sacrifices with Preservation of Skulls, Extremity Bones and Tails

How are the ritual similarities between the horse offerings in southern Scandinavia and those on the Continent to be explained? In my opinion the people in Scandinavia who performed these sacrifices were influenced by the ideas connected to the horse offerings in the eastern nomadic cultures. Fortunately there are written testimonies of ceremonies where the heads, feet, and tails of sacrificed horses have been preserved. One such early account is given by Ahmad ibn Faḍlān. In 922, during a long journey, he visited different Turkish tribes. He reports the following about one of these tribes, Ghuzzija in what is now Kazachstan:

> When a man has died, they dig for him a big grave, in the shape of a house. They approach him, dress him in his garment, his girdle and his bow... In his hand they place a wooden cup, filled with wine. In front of him they place a wooden vessel, filled with wine. They come unto him with all his property and place it at his side in the house and place him there. Then they cover the house and make a kind of cupola made of clay above it. They take his horses, as many as he has, and they kill a hundred or two hundred, all of them. They eat their meat, except the head, feet, hide, and tail. They place these parts on wood, and they say: "These are the horses on which he rides into paradise." And if he has killed people and been a hero, they make wooden sculptures of the same number as those he has killed, and they place them on his grave and say: "These are his servants, who serve him in paradise."
>
> Sometimes they wait a day or two with the slaughter of the animals. Then one of the elderly among their noble men starts to urge them, saying: "I have seen the dead man during sleep, and he said to me: Behold! You can see that my comrades have got ahead of me, and my feet have become weak from following them. I cannot catch up with them, and I have been left behind alone." In this case they take his horses, slaughter them and hang them by the grave.

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[9] Concerning the finds from Central and Southeastern Europe see Klindt-Jensen 1957: 85 f.; Klindt-Jensen 1959: 56.

31. واذا مات الرجل منهم حفروا له حفيرة كبيرة كهيئة البيت وعمدوا اليه فالسبوه قرطقه[c] ومنطقته وقوسه . . . .[d] وجعلوا فى يده قدحا من خشب فيه نبيذ وتركوا بين يديه اناء من خشب فيه نبيذ وجاءوا بكل ماله فجعلوه معه فى ذلك البيت ثم اجلسوه فيه فسقفوا البيت عليه وجعلوا فوقه مثل القبة من الطين وعمدوا الى دوابه على قدر كثرتها فقتلوا منهاماية رأس الى مايتى رأس الى رأس واحد واكلوا لحومها الاّ الرأس والقوايم والجلد والذنب فانهم يصلبون ذلك على الخشب وقالوا: «هذه دوابه يركبها الى الجنة». فان كان قتل انسانا وكان شجاعا نحتوا صورا من خشب على عدد من قتل وجعلوها على قبره وقالوا: «هولآ غلمانه يخدمونه فى الجنة». وربما تغافلوا على قتل الدواب يوما او يومين فحثهم[e] شيخ من كبارهم فيقول: «رأيت فلانا ‘يعنى الميت’ فى النوم فقال لى: «هو ذا ترانى وقد سبقنى اصحابى وشفقت رجلاى من اتباعى لهم ولست[a] الحقهم وقد بقيت وحدى»، فعندها يعمدون الى دوابه فيقتلونها ويصلبونها عند قبره فاذا كان بعد يوم او اثنين جاءهم ذلك الشيخ وقال: «قد رأيت فلانا وقال عرّف اهلى واصحابى انى قد لحقت[b] من تقدمنى واسترحت من التعب».

The travel report of Ibn Faḍlān, Ch. 31 (Togan 1939).

And after a day or two the same elderly man comes, saying: "Now I have seen him, and he said: Tell my family and my friends that I have now caught up with those who were ahead of me, and I have been released from my hardship." (Translation from the Arabic by Ulf Görman)

Here Ibn Faḍlān describes a horse sacrifice in connection with a funeral where the heads and hides of the horses, together with the accompanying feet and tails, were preserved and placed on a wooden stand close to the grave of the dead man. It is clearly indicated that the horses are supposed to be riding-horses for the dead man on his subsequent journey in the realm of the dead.

This idea is common among many peoples. From a mythological point of view the horse is a symbol of death and of the transition from one existence

to another.[10] It is easy to imagine how feet, tail, and head were taken care of and buried in cavities by the grave when the hide had become rotten. This is precisely the way the characteristic remains of horses appear in the grave fields at Prokovsk and Novogrigorievka in southern Russia, at Leuna in central Germany, and probably at two Danish graves from the late Iron Age.

An observation similar to the one made by Ibn Faḍlān is reported by Movsēs Dasxuranci from his visit to the Huns in the Caucasus at the end of the seventh century AD. In the Armenian chronicle Patmutiʿiwn Ałuaniç, which I have already mentioned, he describes how the Huns sacrificed horses to the god they called Aspandiat. They made the blood drip over the branches of the oaks, which had been consecrated to Aspandiat, while the hides and heads were hung up in the branches (Dasxuranci 1961: Ch. 41). Among the Ghuzzi-Turks the horse was a grave gift, among the Huns it was a gift for the principal god. In both cases the suspension of the hide together with the attached parts of the body was a central part of the ritual.

Similar horse sacrifices are known, above all from southern Siberia, right up to our time. During the second part of the nineteenth century Wilhelm Radloff was travelling around in the Altai area. Among other things he described the prevalent shamanism, and in that context he gave a detailed account of a horse sacrifice. I shall here give a summary of his description, as it gives a good idea of how these sacrifices were made. It is true that Radloff's report was made 1300 to 1500 years later, but it shows that exactly the same parts of the horse were preserved as in the finds from the fourth to the sixth centuries. Consequently his account may after all give an impression of the ideas behind the sacrifices.

The offering was devoted to the God Ülgön, and in order to deliver the sacrifice, consisting of a blond horse, the shaman, called a *kam* in Altai, had to force his way through a number of heavens. The greater the power of the shaman, the more heavens he could pass through. The ceremony lasted three nights. On the first evening a suitable place for the sacrifice was elected and the horse was chosen. By means of a birch twig the *kam* drove the horse's soul out, and riding on a pole in the shape of a goose he pursued the soul and caught it with a snare. After that the offering itself was carried out in the following way:

Wenn nun das Pferd bis tu Tode gequält ist, wird ihm das Fell abgezogen, und

[10] Concerning the horse as an animal connected with death and ecstasy see Eliade 1951: 405 f.

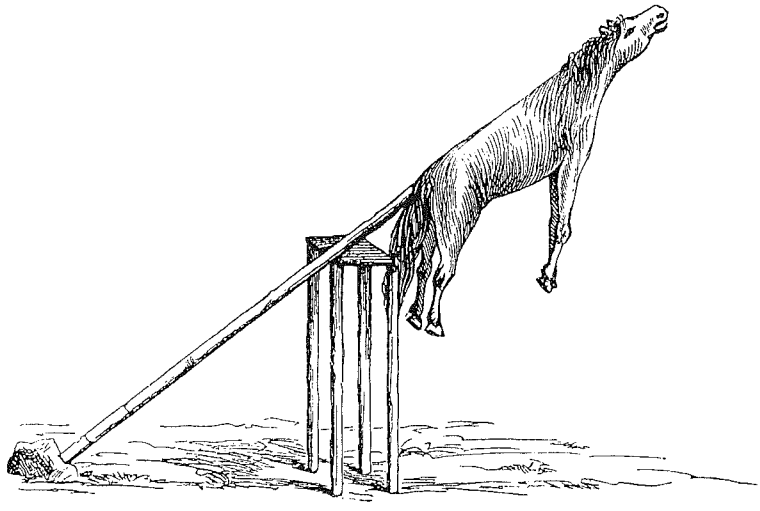

Figure 5. A place of offering with a horse sacrifice among a tribe from Altai (Radloff 1884/2: 18).

zwar so, dass der ganze Schädel und die Füsse bis zu den Knieen in der Haut bleiben. Nur die Zunge wird aus dem Maule herausgerissen. Das Fell wird am Halse und Bauche aufgeschnitten, så dass man den ganzen Körper, ohne die Haut weiter zu beschädigen, herausnehmen kann. Das Fell mit Schädel und Füssen, Baidara genannt, wird nun so auf einer 12–16 Arschine langen Stange (Tükölö) befestigt, dass die Spitze der Stange in die hintere Schädelöffnung gestossen werden kann, die Mitte des Rückens auf der Stange ruht und die vier Beine herabhängen. Dicht vor der Opferstelle wird nun ein kleinerer Pfahl mit einer gabelförmigen Spitze in die Erde gesteckt und über diese die Tükälä so gelegt, dass die Baidara, mit dem Kopfe nach Osten gerichtet, oberhalb des Taskak in der Luft hängt. So ist die Aufstellung der Opfer nur bei den Altajern. (Radloff 1884/2: 26)

Then all the participants ate a sacrificial meal, consisting of the meat of the horse, at which the shaman received the best pieces. Care was taken not to damage the bones, which were placed on a sacrificial table dedicated to Ülgön. On the second evening the *kam* dressed himself in his shaman dress, called on his guardian spirits and carried out his ecstatic journey through the heavens to Ülgön in order to deliver the sacrifice. On the third evening yet another feast was held, at which libation offerings to the gods were performed.[11] (Figure 5)

[11] Concerning the account of this horse sacrifice in Altai see Radloff 1884/2: 20 ff. The description of the ceremonies in connection with this offering is classic, and among others it is described by Eliade 1951: 175 ff.

A similar description of a horse sacrifice among the Telingites in the central parts of the Altai area can also be found in an account by Wolfgang Amschler, who visited the area as late as 1930 (Amschler 1933).

The early finds of cavities with parts of crania, extremity bones and caudal vertebrae from horses originate from southern Russia and southern Siberia, where instances can already be found in the fourth and fifth centuries AD. It was precisely from this area the conquering expeditions of the Huns towards the central parts of Europe started around 375 AD. According to Klindt-Jensen, the Huns could be the mediators of the horse sacrifice in the specific form we know it from Rislev on Sjælland, Sorte Muld on Bornholm, Skedemosse on Öland, and other places. He mentions the Scuthians and the Sarmatians as other possible mediators as well, but he points out that none of these people seems to have performed horse offerings of this specific type (Klindt-Jensen 1959: 52).

Those who sacrificed the objects in the finds of Sösdala, Fulltofta, and probably even Vennebo, must have had a thorough knowledge of the burial rites of the Huns. The deposits from Sorte Muld, Valmosen, Skedemosse, and other places, give evidence of an equally profound knowledge of the way equestrian nomads from the east carried out their horse sacrifices. But these finds are also proof that people in Scandinavia were not only acquainted with, but also practised the foreign rites reflected in the deposits. This means in turn that they had, at least in part, assimilated the underlying ideas. How did this happen?

Scandinavian Mercenaries in Central and Southern Europe

The explanation of the evident influences of the Huns in a number of sacrificial finds in Scandinavia from the fourth to the sixth centuries AD is probably to be found in the new élite of warriors which began to emerge during the last century BC. Another explanation could be that Attila's sphere of power extended further than the Baltic.

We know the new class of warriors through their splendid weapon graves as well as the enormous deposits of weapons. These weapon graves occur starting from the late Pre-Roman Iron Age. They become common during the early Roman Iron Age, and they terminate during the late Roman Iron Age. In general they are richly equipped with weapons, horse equipment, gold and imported objects. The imported objects are first of Celtic and later of Roman origin. These burial finds show that a new class of chiefs

and warriors has developed. It has been concluded from e.g. the equipment in the graves that a small, powerful group of local leaders had developed who gathered younger warriors around themselves. This means that an élite of warriors has distinguished itself from the rest of the population. This is also emphasized by the location of the weapon graves. They are located in secluded places and not in the common big grave fields. The big deposits of weapons also prove the existence of professional, well equipped armies. The many different types of weapons indicate that there were several specialized functions within the armies (Hedeager 1990: 136 ff.).

The ancient strongholds in Scandinavia, many of which were in use during 300–500 AD, also give evidence that communities in Scandinavia during this time were politically and militarily well organized (Näsman 1988: 236).

The warrior hierarchy was also the foundation of the archaic state, which, according to the Danish archaeologist Lotte Hedeager, developed in Denmark as early as in 200–375 with its prerequisites in 100–200 and its consolidation in 375–550 (Hedeager 1990).

This élite of warriors, reflected in several ways by the archaeological finds, could gain wealth and honour by serving as mercenaries in the Roman army, and later also by serving in the feared Hunnish army or in its auxiliary troops, constituted by different ethnic groups. In fact we know the name of one of these Scandinavian warrior leaders. In Jordanes' Getica a number of Scandinavian tribes are mentioned, among them the people of Ranrike, whose king Roduulf went to the court of Theoderick, the Gothic king. Roduulf was not the only one to join the Gothic army, but he had many predecessors as well as successors.[12] Roduulf and his equals, i.e. all those Scandinavians who served as mercenaries on the Continent and who lived in close connection with the Huns, can very well have picked up their life-style, as well as their rites and connected ideas.

I would like to mention another possible explanation for the Hunnish influences on the sacrificial customs in Scandinavia, established from the fourth to the sixth century. As is evident from figure 2, the reign of Attila is considered to have extended to the Baltic. But Priscus, a historian who had himself lived for some time at the court of Attila, states that Attila ruled over "the islands in the Ocean" as well. Thomson, who discusses the reign of Attila, maintains that modern historians are, generally speaking, in agreement that Priscus' statement refers to the islands in the Baltic. Thomson himself argues for this position by referring to the occurrence

[12] Concerning Roduulf see Lönnroth 1977: 3 ff.

of Roman solidi on Bornholm, Öland and Gotland. Roman solidi appear on these islands from the beginning of the fifth century AD, and they suddenly disappear at the time of the Byzantine emperor Zeno, who reigned between 474 and 491 AD. This fact can, according to Thomson, best be explained if Attila controlled these islands. The empire of the Huns would then have created temporary stability in the area, which promoted trade between the islands and the Continent. Because of the disorder which followed on the death of Attila, this trade would have been cut off (Thompson 1948: 75 f.).

Should this interpretation of Priscus' statement be correct, which means that the reign of Attila also included Bornholm, Öland and Gotland, then we would have to reckon with a direct and perhaps even more profound influence from the Huns concerning faith and ritual in some parts of southern Scandinavia during 300–500.

Summary

In this article I have elucidated the connection between two kinds of sacrificial finds, i.e. horse sacrifices and burial offerings. They are contemporary and they share the same background. They can both be traced back to the Huns. This means that in all probability religious ideas occurred in southern Scandinavia during the fourth to the sixth century which were strongly influenced by the Huns, who were powerful in Central Europe at that time. The explanation of this is probably that some Scandinavians, for instance by serving as mercenaries, had come in contact with the Huns and, at least to some extent, assimilated their ways of thinking and their religious ideas.

By pointing out some written testimonies from the same or later time, I have demonstrated the character of the rites practised by the Huns in connection with horse sacrifices and funerals. The striking similarities between these two types of sacrificial finds in Eastern and Central Europe on one hand, and in southern Scandinavia on the other, make it probable that similar ceremonies were also exercised in southern Scandinavia. Accordingly, I have given an idea of the religious beliefs and rites which may have been the background to the finds of horse sacrifices and the funeral sacrificial finds from the fourth to the sixth centuries in southern Scandinavia.

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MIKAEL ROTHSTEIN

Rituals and Religious Innovation

The Meaning of Rituals in Shan the Rising Light

Introduction

The new religions, each in their own way, present a belief system unknown to the surroundings, thereby dissociating themselves from the familiar, while developing their own identity. Religious innovations, however, can also be studied via the development or change that takes place in the rituals. Now and then a new ritual orientation or ritual structure is a very significant expression of the new religious identity that is gradually developing, and at the same time informative with regards to the underlying belief system. In this paper it is my intention to present an example of how rituals may play an important role in the birth of a new religion, and how this religious innovation can be interpreted through the rituals. This example concerns a religious group — Shan the Rising Light — that has managed to introduce a comprehensive body of rituals into a belief system otherwise characteristed by its general lack of rituals and ceremonies (namely the theosophy of Madame Blavatsky), thereby setting the standards for a virtually new religion (another example of the new religions, focusing on the rituals and their function during the formation of the religion, is given in Rothstein 1991).

Theoretical and Methodological Notes

The studies of new religious groups in the Western world has primarily been sociological. Of course this approach is absolutely necessary, but any sociological (and that very often means comparative) analysis needs monographical descriptions of the groups in order to do them justice. This contribution concerns one aspect of such a monographical outlining and stresses historical and phenomenological themes rather than sociology.

This exposition is based on a minor fieldwork conducted during 1990 and 1991 in Shan the Rising Light and related groups: Interviews, less

formal conversations, participant observations and literature of various kinds, all form part of the source material. It is important to observe, though, that my research to this point is rather limited. I have not had the opportunity to study the group more intensively and therefore I have restricted my interest to the rituals and their use. As the rapid process of change and construction in Shan the Rising Light seems to go on and on, one can understand that the results presented here are nothing but *status quo* in the autumn of 1991[1].

However relevant a monographical study may be, another aspect of the analysis may prove no less interesting: It is my suggestion that the study of contemporary developments in minor religions and religious sects may cast some light on the formation of previous religious innovations. In principle I find it possible to use the vast modern material as a comparison in our efforts to understand similar phenomena in ancient sects or new religions, of which only a little is known. This, of course, is not the intention here, but one should not ignore the possibility of such an undertaking.

Shan the Rising Light — Background and Belief

Shan the Rising Light was founded by the Danish woman Jeanne Morashti (b. Jeanne Ruben in 1946) in 1987. In the esoteric context her name is Ananda Tara Shan; "The Blissful Mother of the Earth". In fact the group has existed since 1982, but with other names and other spiritual functions according to the divine instructions that are followed. A less formalized group around Jeanne Morashti is likely to have existed even earlier, especially because her spiritual work, according to her present followers, started as early as 1977. Thus the name Shan the Rising Light indicates the current phase in the life of the group and indeed in the spiritual career of its charismatic leader Jeanne Morashti. The names The Society for Maitreya Theosophy, Rosenhaven (The Rose Garden), The Church of the Sacred Heart of Maitreya and Right Human Relations are those (of which some may cover special sections of the organization) used during the last ten years. It is predicted that a new name will be introduced in 1992 (when new, epoch-making revelations in the shape of books are expected to be received from the divine beings), and another during the final spiritual revolts expected to happen in 1997. This development, with its significant

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[1] I wish to thank my informants for their willingness to cooperate.

millennial perspectives, can easily be traced through the bulky writings of Ananda Tara Shan's closest associate and disciple Asger Lorentsen, and in the magazine "Shan" until recently published by the group.

Shan the Rising Light in Denmark has around 60 inner-members while another 60 are more loosely connected. Many people from the broader non-institutionalized New Age-milieu may visit the group, but such persons can hardly be considered actual adepts. Together with Ananda Tara Shan, seven individuals lead the group[2] (Beckford 1985 provides a good model for analyzing such internal differentiation, although the Shan movement is not mentioned). The group runs a "spiritual community", a semi-monastic commune called Ananda Ashram in Gundsølille near Roskilde, but Ananda Tara Shan herself has lived in Australia since 1982. At that time she established what was then called The Church of the Sacred Heart of Maitreya in Melbourne[3]. This Australian group today has around 200 inner-members, according to my Danish informants. Contact between Denmark and Australia is constantly maintained, especially by telex, which provides an excellent possibility for Ananda Tara Shan to communicate her message to the believers and various practical orders to her second-in-command Asger Lorentsen. As a matter of fact Ananda Tara Shan seems very present in Gundsølille, even though she lives on the other side of the globe. The use of audio- and video-tapes has certainly found its place in the religious communities of the modern world. Normally Ananda Tara Shan only visits her Danish followers once a year during the recurring "Summer Ashrams"[4].

Until 1981, when Jeanne Morashti was excommunicated, she was an active member of the Theosophical Society in Denmark, although she was never elected to the actual leadership. Since the early 1970's she had become known as "The Clairvoyant One" in the occult milieus of Copenhagen and was "gradually maturing to her present position as one of the leading figures of the New Age", as one of her disciples explained to me.

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[2] During the past year there has been some re-arrangment of the leading group, and it may have as few as four individuals at the moment (1991).

[3] Shan the Rising Light is represented in Norway, Holland, Germany and Israel, but only through very few individuals. Only in Denmark and Australia do actual congregations exist.

[4] It caused some disturbance in Denmark when she did not arrive at all during the summer of 1991. Christian apologetics, following the development of the group carefully, claimed that severe problems had arisen in Australia and that Ananda Tara Shan stayed home to fight for her "spiritual survival". This was never confirmed by the group itself.

No doubt Jeanne Morashti's strong feeling of spiritual competence, and a number of concrete spiritual experiences, led her to challenge the leadership of the Theosophical Society in Denmark. According to her teachings, the Theosophical Society has deserted the obligations imposed on it by the Mahatmas of the Great White Lodge (the brotherhood of enlightened souls, guiding humanity towards perfection from secret sites around the world [Barborka 1973]), and consequently her endeavours must be understood as a project of reconstruction and fulfilment. The intention is to: "Lift up Theosophy so that it may contain the vibration from the Hierarchy's Inner Ring" (The Hierarchy is synonymous with The Brotherhood of the Mahatmas) (AA 1), and to "bring about new developments within the theosophy, so that it may truly serve humanity". Her Jewish background does not show in her theology. As a matter of fact Judaism (and Islam) are considered rather primitive or even "dark" religions with little or no value to the spiritually developed persons[5]. Individuals in the Jewish milieu of Copenhagen remember Jeanne Morashti as an odd person: "only eating vegetables, and practising all sorts of exotic humbug. I felt so sorry for her mother" (AA 2). To her followers, however, Jeanne Morashti is unique. The soul now incarnating as her originally came from Venus 16 million years ago where it lived in close association with (other) celestial and divine beings.

This perspective of split and internal antagonisms is by no means unusual in the history of the Theosophical Society. Since it was established by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott in 1875, the Society has faced numerous discords, and a multitude of theosophically inspired fractions still exist. The more prominent include such occult personalities as Alice A. Bailey, William Q. Judge, Francia LaDue, Gue Ballard, Robert Crosbie and more recently Elisabeth Clare Prophet, among others (Melton 1986: 45–52, 87–92; Melton, Clark and Kelly 1991: 1–37). Some of these have been restored to favour by Ananda Tara Shan, whereas others have to face severe accusation. Thus Alice A. Bailey and her writings (believed to be transmissions from the Mahatma Djwhul Khul) are considered authentic and most valuable ("the highest wisdom given on this planet until Ananda Tara Shan came", according to one informant), while Elizabeth Clare Prophet and her organization Summit Lighthouse (operating in close association with another organization set up by Elizabeth Clare Prophet; The Church Universal and Triumphant) is more or less outright

[5] This idea is not uncommon in theosophical thinking. As an example see Bailey 1976: 81.

rejected[6]. This dissociation from the last seems very understandable as Shan the Rising Light and Summit Lighthouse resemble each other in so many ways that a mutual rejection is needed as an element in the ongoing missionary work of the two organizations. In this connection it should be observed that Shan the Rising Light officially claims that no competition or hostility exists between the two organizations (Lorentsen 1990: 51). In Denmark, where the first theosophical lodge was established in 1908, these internal controversies culminated a few years ago when the Theosophical Union (Teosofisk Forening) split from the traditional Theosophical Society (Teosofisk Samfund). To the rather few members of the strongly reduced Theosophical Society (about 30 individuals) this rupture is fatal. They believe themselves to support the true theosophical organization, but they recognize that their influence is now very weak (even if the international leadership of the Theosophical Society in Adyar, India — so they say — supports the group). Ananda Tara Shan, although not representing the new Theosophical Union (counting about 300 individuals), is partly to blame, they say. To my informants it seems likely that the discords only became possible because Ananda Tara Shan started to undermine the organization more than ten years ago. I cannot judge in this matter, but it seems likely that the upheavals caused by her made a general insurrection possible. After all her excommunication is still remembered as the "necessary purging of a person associated with the dark forces of Evil" (AA 3). It also became known among he theosophists that she had practised black magic at Atlantis, and that her task was to destroy humanity. She proudly confirms that she previously incarnated on Atlantis (not to forget Lemuria), but rejects their harsh attack. Not less profoundly Ananda Tara Shan (at that time still Jeanne Morashti) exclaimed in an "open letter":

> This letter I especially address to you that hate, condemn, slander, manipulate, envy, "throw stones", pull wires, are jealous, call yourself spiritual without being it, are hypocrites . . . , lie . . . i.e. all you that knowingly or not work for the Lord of Darkness — the negative powers. I thank you for having led me to this, my Great Day, the 8. of May 1982, when I — because of the adversity and hatred you have shown me — have had the strength and courage back, which was mine in former incarnations on Earth. With this strength, that courage and that power God today has bestowed on me, I am able to say the words:

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[6] Understandably Shan the Rising Light (as all of us) could rejoice when the end of the world, contrary to the prediction of Elisabeth Clare Prophet, failed to come in 1990. According to one of my informants from Shan the Rising Light, the failed prophecy was taken as proof of Elisabeth Clare Prophet's lack of spiritual authority.

I swear that I will defeat all negative on Earth with the power you have given me today, Oh God. (AA 4:1)[7]

One thing in particular gave rise to the conflict. In 1980 in New York, during a meal with her husband, Jeanne Morashti received a revelation from the Mahatma Morya who told her that she was the "direct incarnation" of the founder of the Theosophical Society Madame Blavatsky. At the same time Jeanne Morashti's husband realized through revelation that he himself was a corresponding incarnation of Madame Blavatsky's close companion and co-founder of the Society Henry Steel Olcott. They experienced what is termed a "soul recall", and Jeanne Morashti now remembered everything from her previous incarnations. The personality of Madame Blavatsky started to develop and grow within her, and she had to go through what is described as an immense spiritual battle in order to prepare herself for her final mission: "The ignorant can destroy the body, but the soul will always return to complete the task imposed on it by God" (AA 4:4). In trying to legitimize her alternative ideas through Madame Blavatsky (understanding herself to be her direct incarnation), Jeanne Morashti violated one of the major theosophical doctrines; that of Madame Blavatsky's spiritual sovereignty, and could not expect anything but excommunication. The fact that Jeanne Morashti gradually came to physically resemble Madame Blavatsky was taken as a proof of the postulated "direct incarnation" by her supporters, while one member of the remaining Theosophical Society interpreted the change as an "element in her vulgar plans".

To her disciples, Ananda Tara Shan is considered an avatar, and her mere existence is interpreted as an ongoing epiphany. She is a prominent member of a group of twenty avatars especially chosen by the Mahatmas to prepare the basis for the "new World Religion and the new spiritually clean society" (AA 5). Through her the Mahatmas speak, and through her the healing light and energies and the enlightening gnosis flows into Earth (*Shan* being the esoteric or occult name of the planet, according to Ananda Tara Shan). In short, one can say that Ananda Tara Shan is the physical precondition for the divine powers' work on planet Earth. In turn, so it is believed, her disciples will gain the same competence, and the rituals, introduced by Ananda Tara Shan herself, are the means in every respect.

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[7] Translated from the Danish by the author (The following quotations are likewise translated by the author from the Danish).

Put bluntly, the situation is this: Ananda Tara Shan appears as the direct incarnation of Madame Blavatsky, and her task in this life is to complete the process inaugurated by Madame Blavatsky (i.e. herself) in 1875. As the Theosophical Society has disregarded its divinely sanctioned mission, a new organization has been set up (namely Shan the Rising Light), and by introducing a comprehensive set of rituals, unknown to traditional theosophy, world-wide success is expected.

In the following this process of innovation through the introduction of new rituals will be analyzed, but for the purpose of comparison, I shall first give a short account of the traditional theosophical idea of rituals and ritualism — or rather the theosophical lack of rituals.

The Theosophical Society and Rituals[8]

The theosophical belief system is syncretistic and eclectic indeed. Based on a conglomerate of traditions including Western occultism, spiritualism, parapsychology, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and even elements from the sciences[9], it is one of the first modern alternatives to the traditional religious belief systems (Ahlbäck 1990: 49–60; Ahlbäck 1989: 36–44). The basic assumption is that there is "no religion higher than Truth", and it is believed that this "Truth" is the core of every religion. Access to the "Core of Truth" is given through the esoteric schools of the religions, and this is what theosophy is all about.

One of the theses in Madame Blavatsky's comprehensive Collected Writings is that every ritual and ceremony, regardless of its complexity, symbols and structure, can be traced to a common origin: "the actual occult rituals and ceremonies" (Blavatsky 1950–1969). Some of these archetypical rituals, she claims, were meant to manage the positive and benevolent "White Magic", while others served the negative forces of "Black Magic". In this way she recognizes the efficacy of the rituals, and relates the ritual

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[8] It is impossible to give a full account of either the traditional theosophical belief system or that of Shan the Rising Light here. The latter covers, among other things, astrology, kiromanty, penduling, aura-counselling, crystal-magic, special diets, the legends of King Arthur and the Grail, various forms of healing, color-magic, UFOs and extraterrestrial beings, etc. In other words any feature of the broad New Age movement brought into an institutionalized form (see Melton 1986: 107–124). Only the basic features are presented here. The bibliography will provide further readings.

[9] Among other things an elaboration of Charles Darwin's biological theory of evolution (presented about six years before the foundation of the Theosophical Society), rendered a spiritual structure concerning the development of higher spiritual awareness.

practices to the powers ruling the Universe and our lives. As Madame Blavatsky claims the historical sources to be more or less useless, her precise knowledge of the ancient rituals seems to be derived from her spiritual contact with the entities of the "Great White Lodge".

It is obvious, then, that a clear awareness of rituals and ceremonies in principle forms a part of the theosophical belief system. Nevertheless it is a fact that almost no rituals are seen within the frames of the Theosophical Society. On the contrary, the religious awareness constantly concentrates on the internal transformations, the development of higher levels of consciousness and the non- or meta-physical through speculations, intellectual studies, education and instructions. The theosophical writings rarely comment on rituals, but when this does happen, the perspective is usually (if not always) negative. The classical Danish theosophical dictionary does not include any entry on ritual, ceremony, etc. (Kapel 1925). Answering the rhetoric question why people in the West have until now (i.e. 1889) been unaware of the perennial theosophical teachings, Madame Blavatsky says that "their long-lasting slavery under dogmatic belief in words and ritualism" is an important reason (Blavatsky s. a.: 6). The only common practice is meditation, and even this is not strongly emphasized[10]. At this point we may ask where the rituals are in relation to the Theosophical Society. Within the frames of the Society as an institution we cannot se them.

A leading person in the Theosophical Society in Denmark gave us the answer:

> The Theosophical Society does not make use of any rituals or ceremonies whatsoever, but supports two great sections that use rituals and ceremonies indeed. (AA 6)

The two organizations he refers to are The Liberal Catholic Church and the Co-Masonic Order [Co-Frimurer-Ordenen], both of which are independent organizations, although fundamentally inspired by theosophy and theosophists.

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[10] Not all scholars agree as to whether meditation is a ritual practice or not. To my mind, however, meditation is a ritual indeed, but in the case of the Theosophical Society, where even the meditation ranks relatively low, it cannot change the impression of an almost ritual-free religion.

The Liberal Catholic Church and the Co-Masonic Order

Both organizations were founded in the beginning of the 19th century on the initiative of prominent theosophists. The theosophists had originally sought collaboration with the traditional freemason-milieu and the Christian churches, but with no success. On the contrary, they met rejection or even hostility everywhere. The masonic orders refused to accept women, a fact the theosophists (with its female founder) could not accept, and the traditional Christian congregations considered the theosophist's esoteric understanding of Christ (as one of the Mahatmas) and the Gospel absurd or heretic. According to my informants, however, Madame Blavatsky declared that the rituals of the masonic orders were in the service of the "Good Forces", and the activities of the freemasons were therefore designated "White Magic". What was needed was an even better management of the rituals, and therefore the Co-Masonic-Order was set up, but with nothing formal or institutional in common with the Theosophical Society: Here the rituals could be conducted by qualified theosophists for the benefit of all. In addition (in Denmark somewhat later) the theosophists established a special freemason order for children, the Order of the Round Table, an institution equally important to the analysis of Shan the Rising Light.

In sum, we may conclude that the Masonic orders refused to co-operate with the theosophists and therefore the theosophists took over the freemasons' rituals. As an element in the soteriological endeavours of the theosophists this was simply necessary[11]. Unfortunately only very little information has been obtainable regarding the rituals of the Co-Masonic Order. This, of course, is due to its esoteric and secret nature. Later, in the comparison with Shan the Rising Light, the little I know will be mentioned.

The same idea regarding the proper conduct of the ritual practice underlies the Liberal Catholic Church and its bulk of rituals, founded by James Ingall Wedgwood and C. W. Leadbeater, one of the leading theosophists in the generation after Blavatsky and Olcott. He (Leadbeater) presided as Bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church for many years, and his influence on the occult interpretations and practices is still evident. The belief system of the Liberal Catholic Church is — like the theosophy itself — syncretistic indeed with ancient Catholic and Buddhist ideas being the

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[11] This information is derived from my conversations with representatives from the Theosophical Society and the Co-Masonic Order in Denmark. Of course, literary sources would be most welcome, but I have not found any so far.

most prominent. The cult however, carefully follows a Catholic ideal of form and structure, although the interpretation of the rites is very different (Frick 1978: 314).

A hitherto much too narrow understanding of the conventional Churches' rituals led to the foundation of the Liberal Catholic Church, theosophists say — a statement echoed in the preface to one of the most striking sources to the Liberal Catholic liturgy, "The Science of the Sacraments" by Leadbeater (Leadbeater 1957: xiii–xiv). Contrary to the Co-Masonic rituals, the rites of the Liberal Catholic Church are described in minute detail. Again the idea of actual functioning rituals is in front. Under the heading "A New Idea of Church Worship" Leadbeater writes:

> The sacrament of the Eucharist benefits not only the individual, as do the other Sacraments, but the entire congregation; it is of use not once only, like Baptism or Confirmation, but is intended for the helping of every churchman all his life long: and in addition to that, it affects the whole neighborhood surrounding the church in which it is celebrated. (Leadbeater 1957: 1)

And later in the text:

> The temple or church is meant to be not only a place of worship, but also a center of magnetic radiation through which spiritual force can be poured out upon a whole district. (Leadbeater 1957: 3)

But the rituals are not considered absolutely necessary to everybody:

> The rituals and ceremonies [of the Liberal Catholic Church and the Co-Masonic Order] are put at our disposal because some people need it to develop spiritually. Very often such people are not in the habit of studying, and their ability to understand esoteric instructions is bad. Through the rituals they get their chance. I myself also used to participate in some ceremonies from time to time, but it was never my main activity. But I am still a member of the Church. [The Liberal Catholic Church i.e.] (AA 7)

The last information expresses the exception, not what is common. In Denmark only very few organized theosophists (maybe as few as four or five) are initiate members of the Liberal Catholic Church or the Co-Masonic Order. This is quite contrary to the situation when these organizations were established. At that time the founders placed persons from the elite in the Theosophical Society (members of the so called Esoteric Training School (E.S.) within the Theosophical Society) in the new organizations to secure a genuine theosophical influence. Today the 100 Danish members of the Liberal Catholic Church and the (at most)

150 members of the Co-Masonic Order are — with very few exceptions — not members of the Theosophical Society[12].

If we keep to the Danish context, and so we must in order to analyze Shan the Rising Light, it seems obvious that the total theosophical milieu is split into a number of inharmonious groups. There are severe theological and personal antagonisms between the Theosophical Society and the Theosophical Union, and neither of the two have formalized collaboration with the strongly ritualised groups described above, the way they used to in the first third of this century. The only organization in Denmark that seems to cover every aspect is the relatively new-born Shan the Rising Light. In the following I shall describe how the various aspects form a whole in this organization and in the teachings of Ananda Tara Shan, thus focusing on some of the premises for the development of this new religion.

Comparisons with Shan the Rising Light

The rituals of Shan the Rising Light may be described in three categories: 1) The transmissions of messages from the Mahatmas through Ananda Tara Shan, 2) The collective healing rites designated "Cosmic Peace Services" or "Healing Services" and 3) Individual meditation and contemplation of various kinds. The first category obviously requires the presence of Ananda Tara Shan herself. Consequently these very important rituals are only performed in Denmark occasionally, as Ananda Tara Shan lives in Australia. The rituals classified under category 2. are in Denmark led by the more prominent members of the group. The last category may imply group performance, but very often the meditations and therapeutic techniques are conducted in private. This elaboration is sufficient for our purpose, although a more detailed systematism could be developed.

Only the third category is identifiable within the context of the Theosophical Society. It is true that Madame Blavatsky (and a few others) during the early days of the Theosophical Society received revelations from the Mahatmas, but the structure of this communication was different from that of Ananda Tara Shan and her Masters. Usually the Mahatmas would by supernatural means communicate their message to Madame Blavatsky in writing (Ahlbäck 1990: 57). Ananda Tara Shan is rather a medium that speaks out the divine messages. She is believed to form a unity with the

[12] The figures are given by representatives from the various organizations during the summer of 1991.

Mahatma that "transmits", and it is explained that she herself formulates what is told her "in a spiritual language" during the "Hierarchical Transmissions". Very often Ananda Tara Shan's followers are present when the Mahatmas speak. They can see and hear the actual communication, and to many of the believers this experience is a proof of the truth in Ananda Tara Shan's teachings. When the Mahatmas "transmit", Ananda Tara Shan, wearing white or coloured robes, experiences some kind of altered state of consciousness, and to the sound of specifically chosen music, she will lift up her "Magic Wand" with its crystal knob and exclaim the message. In other words, the "transmissions" only occur during carefully planned ritual sessions, quite contrary to the precipitated correspondences in the days of Madame Blavatsky (Ahlbäck 1990: 57). Very often the theme of an approaching "transmission" is known in due time:

> During Ananda Tara Shan's next visit to Denmark the Hierarchical Transmissions will [last for] two evenings (...). During these evenings the Lord Maitreya and other cosmic entities, together with the Hierarchy, will address the Danish people and carry on the preparation of the Danish national mind, in order to make it ready for the task it is meant to carry out during the next centuries. (Ærkeenglen Michael 1988–89: 17)

All "transmissions" are taped, and when a session is completed, the tape is transcribed. Consequently Shan the Rising Light produces a lot of religious texts on the basis of Ananda Tara Shan's "transmissions". These texts form the core of the sacred writings, and together with Ananda Tara Shan's personal commentaries and those of Asger Lorentsen, they represent the actual canon of the group. This material can of course be compared to the "Mahatma Letters" of the Theosophical Society and the inspired writings of Alice A. Bailey, and it is true that their content and their structure resemble the older material in many ways (see as an example Humphreys and Benjamin 1979; Barborka 1973). It is interesting then, that the followers of Ananda Tara Shan can participate in the "transmissions", contrary to the members of the Theosophical Society in Madame Blavatsky's days. In Shan the Rising Light the congregation is meant to support Ananda Tara Shan while she prepares herself for the communication. The group will form "energy circles", conduct "spiritual purification" of the location, meditate and pray. In this way the leader and the group work together, and every participant knows that the divine interference is partly due to his or her efforts.

As far as I can see, the rituals introduced in close connection with the theosophical belief system are derived form the traditions of the Co-

Masonic Orders and The Order of the Round Table. Two informants that are initiated members of the Co-Masonic Order in Copenhagen have confirmed that the ritual garments, the "Magic Wand", a sword that is used during the "transmissions" and the geometrical formations formed by the congregation during these rituals in Shan the Rising Light are copied from the rituals of the Co-Masons. My only informant with contact to the Order of the Round Table likewise certifies that the round piece of marble and various round tables used by Ananda Tara Shan are taken from *their* rituals. Referring to the beliefs of the Shan movement, I told a former leader of the Order of the Round Table in Copenhagen about the function of the marble piece: It is believed to possess a "magnetic force of energy" that is carried from ritual to ritual, constantly accumulating "energy" derived from the rituals (Lorentsen 1983: 239). His reaction was the following: "Yes. It ought to. But it does not work in the hands of Morashti". He also declared that the interpretation of the round marble piece as a symbol of the earth, which is the case in Shan the Rising Light, is quite unknown to his Order. To my knowledge Ananda Tara Shan was never a member of the Co-Masonic Order, but she was indeed involved with the Order of The Round Table. As a matter of fact she was expelled from the Order by its leader. At that time the accusation was that she tried to inflict the children of the Order with her "dark powers by reversing the rituals"[13]. Today the same person declared:

> People in the Shan movement play with low-astral phenomena, something Blavatsky always warned against. It can be fatal. You become unresisting and unable to act and you may risk obsessions. It is straightforward psychism. She [Ananda Tara Shan] is harmless to those who know. Only weak persons are in danger. Some of the worst experiences in my life were the psychic battles I fought against her. The tension can be witnessed by many people who were there. (AA 8)

Asger Lorentsen of the Shan movement i Denmark explains such accusations as misunderstandings:

> Two prominent theosophists have seen Ananda's "Plutonic Aura", and they have interpreted it as an expression of black magic. It is not. It is an expression of God's Will, a force that gives her tremendous ability to act and perform. (AA 9)

The members of the Liberal Catholic Church are less worried. "The rituals of the Shan movement do not work at all," they say. The problem

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[13] It is interesting to observe that the distortion of rituals is very often central to apologetic argumentation. This reaction is fundamentaly the same as that of the Church Fathers in relation to the mystery-cults of the Hellenistic period.

according to my informants is that Jeanne Morashti (always called by her original name by her opponents) has not received the proper initiation, and therefore does not have the authority to conduct the rituals. The Liberal Catholics see themselves as representatives of the "Old Catholic Union of Utrecht", and they claim to pass on the only true succession, which has never been offered to Jeanne Morashti. Nevertheless she was indeed an initiated (baptized) member of the Liberal Catholic Church in Copenhagen for some years, and I see no reason to doubt that she has used her knowledge from there in her own religious organization.

In their critique of the rituals of Shan the Rising Light, the Liberal Catholics mainly point to the rituals classified under category 2. above. These rites of healing and "energy channelling" truly resemble the rites of the Liberal Catholic Church. Not all of them, but those concerned with just that.

Shan the Rising Light is very concerned with "Earth-healing". Through the "injection of divine light that purifies and renews creation" they seek to prepare the Earth for the coming of Maitreya, the redeemer of this age (the Age of Aquarius):

> The Cosmic Earth-Healing Service is the divine service, where the associates of the Hierarchy consciously put themselves at the disposal of a higher rhythm. In this way the energies from the World of God are canalized to the surrounding astral and mental atmosphere so that the vibrations are lifted. In this way the stronger energies of the New Age can meet a better response. (Lorentsen 1983: 238)

During the Liberal Catholic celebration of the Mass, a "wave of peace and strength goes into the Earth", very similar to what is described above. This function Leadbeater calls "the primary object of the service" (Leadbeater 1957: 3), an interpretation identical with the Shan understanding of *their* service. It is also possible to identify the Liberal Catholic self-esteem in Shan the Rising Light. Leadbeater writes: "If we be truly religious [we] must be unselfish; we must be working together with Him, our Lord" (Leadbeater 1957: 10). In an internal note from Shan the Rising Light it says:

> The servants of the World constitute a divine, non-selfish relief squad. It is our task to calm the roaring waters through our services, for the benefit of all and on behalf of our Lord. (AA 10)

In both cases it is emphasized that Man is obliged to provide the facilities necessary for the transmission of divine energy. These facilities are the

rituals. It is further stated that the congregations should know the liturgy and the rituals very well. For that reason the Liberal Catholics present their rituals in minute detail in books and lectures. Shan the Rising Light distributes ritual manuals to the participants so that the ritual structure and the wording will become known. An example is given in the following:

Cosmic Service for the Earth

All the participants (sitting on chairs) form a circle.
Music according to the purpose of the service.
Invocation of the Archangels (the leader):
We call upon the Archangels: Michael, Jophiel, Chamuel, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel and Zadkiel. And the female Archangels: Faith, Constance, Charity, Hope, Maria, Donna Grace and Amethyst.
The Leader continues: *Ruler of the Universe. We ask you to abolish the negative aspects today, and strengthen the good aspects so that we may co-operate for the good of the Light.*
Invocations
The Leader: *Shining circle, thou art the beginning and the end.*
Flaming sword, thou art the pioneer and the path.
Protect us and help us in this service.
The ceremony of the circle and the sword is performed [by the leader]. (AA 11)[14]

This section is followed by further invocations stressing the role of the adepts and the quest for unity with the divine. The invocations are always made by the leader, but from this point the congregation joins by adding "Lets us work for the Light", "Let us work for the Earth and Humanity" and "Let us work for all that lives". So far all join hands and "seek God within themselves". The leader then says:

The heart of the universe pulsates and glows.
We are that heart.

In the following the participants are asked "to visualize the power and energy that is sent into the Earth and everything that lives on Earth", and to follow the energy as it returns to the cosmos. Finally the leader exclaims: "The Earth is shining" which everybody repeats. Then the circle is opened and the ritual (that all in all has lasted for about 30 minutes) ends (AA 12).

It is believed that this (and similar) rituals are the preconditions for any further spiritual development.

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[14] Unfortunately the circle and sword ceremony is closed to outsiders.

Of course this kind of ritual guide is less elaborated than those of the Liberal Catholics as produced by Leadbeater. Shan the Rising Light, however, refers to the writings of Leadbeater concerning the interpretation of rituals and ceremonies (Lorentsen 1989: 334).

Another striking feature that combines Shan the Rising Light and the Liberal Catholic Church is the idea of "Thought-Forms"; spiritual constructions that are gradually built up during the rituals. This kind of "spiritual architecture" can only be seen by especially initiated persons and individuals with psychic abilities. The structures — depicted in Leadbeater's book — are magnificent "buildings" with spires, domes, geometrical patterns etc. developing in the same place where the ritual is in progress. The physical church building is understood to be a symbol of the "actual church" appearing as the "Thought-Form".

In Shan the Rising Light the Ananda Ashram of Gundsolille functions in much the same way as the cult-room of the Liberal Catholics. On the 7. of July 1990, the Mahatma Count of Saint Germain initiated the place by constructing an ideal "Thought-Form" (although this term, to my knowledge, is never used in Shan the Rising Light):

> I place an angel of Violet fire here. I already have placed one over the main building, but I shall place one over the whole area (...) A new castle of the Grail has been formed around his Church. It is up to you to make it physical. It is up to you to enliven the Grail once more. (AA 13)[15]

It is a well known phenomenon in Shan the Rising Light that people may vision these spiritual buildings:

> When a group conducts this service of peace, you can see a lot of light-beings and beautiful thought-forms arise between the participants. It is a mighty ocean of light that is being established. It may look like an aura of flames and light, not only covering the house in which the service is celebrated, but also pouring out over the landscape. (Healing 1984: 7)

The church of the Liberal Catholics is considered a "retreat from the confusing world", and exactly the same formulation is used to describe Ananda Ashram.

Further, it is possible to link Ananda Tara Shan's use of music during the rituals to that of the Liberal Catholic Church. Leadbeater urged his followers to develop a special Liberal Catholic musical liturgy (Leadbeater

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[15] This was considered an official announcement.

1957: 23), and in Shan the Rising Light such a thing has existed for years. The arguments given by Leadbeater seem to be fulfilled by Ananda Tara Shan, even if she does not refer to him personally (Musik 1983: 10–14). It is also possible that the important "Magic Wand" of Ananda Tara Shan, or rather the way it works, is partly inspired by the crosier of the Bishop in the Liberal Catholic Church. I have been told that the Liberal Catholics can feel the divine energies by touching their spiritual leader's (the Bishop's) crosier, and a similar account was given in a talk-show on the "spiritual local radio" of Copenhagen:

> Whenever you approach a person with spiritual power, you can feel it! When I approach Ananda, I can virtually see the magnetic radiation of her stick. The crystal seems to glow. It is very beautiful. (AA 14)

Conclusion

Jeanne Morashti was excommunicated from the organization she felt obliged to save, and started her own religious group. During her religious career, she had encountered numerous groups within the broader limits of the theosophical milieu, and when establishing her own group, she formed a synthesis of the various elements. The rituals of the Co-Masonic Orders and the Order of the Round Table, along with the comprehensive ceremonial of the Liberal Catholic Church, were related to the otherwise non-ritualistic theology of Madame Blavatsky. In the words of Ananda Tara Shan, her contribution (the setting up of Shan the Rising Light) "was the final precondition to the Age of Aquarius, when Maitreya is to arrive" (AA 15). As she is believed to be a direct incarnation of Madame Blavatsky, it is only natural that she is trusted to finish her assignment in this incarnation. What interest us, however, is that this fulfilment is explicitly carried out by introducing the rituals:

> The philosophy has been known for a long time. Now we eventually have the means to realize it. It is the destiny of us, the Healers of the Earth, to enliven the will of the Masters, to let the Light of The Hierarchy shine on every man and woman on Earth. It is our destiny to create this Great Focus of Light and Love. It is for us to see the Castle of the Grail grow. Everybody that participates in our circles shall be blessed in all future incarnations. (AA 16)

It is through the rituals that the preconditions for these goals are created and it is through the rituals that the contact with the divine beings

is maintained. It is also through the rituals that the new elements in the belief system are given, and it is through the rituals that Ananda Tara Shan confirms her religious authority. Further, the rituals provide the believers with the experience of contact with a higher reality. This is why I consider the introduction of rituals into a traditionally non-ritualistic belief system an important element in the establishment of a (this) new religion. The introduction of rituals affects the beliefs and the sociological conditions alike. Ananda Tara Shan has managed to form a synthesis of institutions and structures otherwise separated.

While a sectarian split from the traditional theosophical body is nothing unique, the case of Shan the Rising Light seems to present something new in the history of theosophical offshoots. As pointed out by Melton, the various reformers of the theosophical ideas have each claimed their competence through their own selected Mahatma: Bailey and Mahatma Djwul Khul, Ballard and Mahatma St. Germain, LaDue and Mahatma Hilarion, etc. (Melton 1986: 90). Ananda Tara Shan communicates with *all* of them, including Jesus, although the Archangel Michael seems to be especially fond of her[16]. Her ability to "canalize energies" from all members of the White Brotherhood was explained to me as the result of her "formidable ability to open the gates so that the energies may flow". This ability, one informant told me (just after the presentation of a video-tape showing Ananda Tara Shan transmitting a message from the Archangel Michael), has been developed "thanks to the rituals rediscovered by Ananda Tara Shan herself". After a while my informant corrected herself: "It may be that she actually did not discover them herself. Maybe they were given her by the Masters," she said.

For the purpose of our analysis this changes nothing. The fact that rituals are introduced in a certain way to obtain certain results is what interests because it seems that *this* is something new to the theosophical sects. The old process of syncretism and eclecticism, in the case of Shan the Rising Light, have managed to include the rituals too.

I think this conclusion is supported by Bruce F. Campbell when he states the following:

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[16] The Mahatmas of Shan the Rising Light are more or less the same as those known to traditional theosophy: Hilarion (Paulus), Count of Saint Germain (Rakoczy), Sanat Kumara, Mahatma D. K., Chohan, Serapis Bay, Koot Hoomi, Mahatma R., Paul of Venice, etc. and a line of female, maybe less known Mahatmas; Surya, Quan Yin, Rowena, Celeste and Rochell. Many other divine beings occur occasionally.

Ritual is a central element in the religious life. The symbolism and activity of group worship are powerful means both for making religious experience real and for creating a feeling of fellowship and community. Theosophy is therefore weakened as a vital movement by its lack of official ritual. (Campbell 1980: 196)

Finally, as a curiosity, it is interesting to observe that the Mahatma Koot Hoomi, in February 1882, in a letter to the medium A. P. Sinnett commented on the young Theosophical Society and its internal problems, and said:

How will you do it? How can you do it? Think of it well, if you care for further intercourse. They want something new. A ritual to amuse them. (Humphreys and Benjamin 1979: 262)

And this was what they got through the Shan movement, exactly one hundred years later.

Final comment

During the symposium on rituals in Åbo when this paper was originally presented, Dr. Tore Ahlbäck, being my co-referent, gave some very interesting pieces of information, especially regarding the history of the Theosophical Society. One thing in particular was of interest in relation to my analysis. Dr. Ahlbäck revealed that C. W. Leadbeater actually was the occult genius among the first theosophists, and he indicated that the influence of Leadbeater upon the occult traditions may very well be more important than that of Madame Blavatsky. This observation led Dr. Ahlbäck to suggest that Shan the Rising Light is primarily in tune with the occultism, and thus the tradition of ritualism, of Leadbeater. Only secondly, he suggested, the movement is in tune with the teachings of Madame Blavatsky[17].

As the resemblances between the ritualized occult traditions and Shan the Rising Light are obvious, this may very well be so. On the other hand, I find it hard to ignore the fact that the belief system of Ananda Tara Shan to a very high degree resembles that of Madame Blavatsky and other theosophical thinkers. As far as I can see, the judgement depends on where the emphasis is laid. By focusing on the belief system the theosophical heritage dominates, but concentrating on the rituals the

[17] I wish to thank Tore Ahlbäck for his valuable comments, of which only one central aspect is taken into consideration here.

other occult traditions or disciplines show themselves. One way or the other: the systematized mixing of strongly ritualized traditions with a non-ritualized belief system has led to a religious innovation.

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AA 2 Private conversation with an elderly woman who had known Jeanne Morashti before her occult career began, July 1990.

AA 3 Interview with a dominant figure in the Theosophical Society in Denmark, May 1991.

AA 4 Copy of internally distributed letter by Jeanne Morashti under the heading "Jeg anklager det Teosofiske Samfund af idag og de pseudo åndelige". No date.

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PETER BUCHHOLZ

Religious Foundations of Group Identity in Prehistoric Europe: The Germanic Peoples

Any reader of Heimskringla ("circle of the earth"), the history of the kings of Norway by the great 13th century Icelandic writer Snorri Sturluson, will be struck by the enormous weight which the author attaches to religion. This refers both to Christianity and to pagan phenomena which preceded and even co-existed with it for some time. Snorri's work should, in my view, be ascribed a relatively high source value, if only because it is demonstrably based on older traditions either fixed in poetry or transmitted as oral prose. Oral tradition is of course not the topic of the present paper (cf. Buchholz 1980; Buchholz 1991), but the preservation of such traditions alone, many of which contain religious material, does indeed show that society or parts of it attached sufficient importance to such phenomena as to commit them to memory, parchment, runic signs or pictorial representation. The last scribe or "author" may of course have had considerable antiquarian interests, as is evident e.g. in some of the mythic poems of the Elder Edda, but such interests cannot be regarded as the cause for the *existence* of the myth, but only as one of the reasons for its preservation. We shall hopefully glimpse something of the role of myth in Germanic societies in the course of my paper. Leaving Myth aside for the moment, I want to stress that ON prose material, including Heimskringla, shows a marked interest in the concrete manifestations of cult (which, for paganism as seen through Christian eyes at least, definitely includes magic) and belief. The Christian God and pagan gods alike are still seen to assist their followers in a tangible manner. The Christian Scandinavian worldview declares some of the more incredible feats ascribed to pagan gods or magicians as *sjónhverfing* (deception) caused by the Devil, i.e., within this limitation, still as real. The belief in the reality of the supernatural is indeed a fundamental aspect of the complex concept of truth which can be distilled from our sources (cf.

Buchholz 1980: ch. 5; Buchholz 1986). When, for example, King Olaf Tryggvason's attempts to christianize Norway (here: Rogaland) are to be opposed, the following happens:

> Now when the king had finished speaking, then arose one of the farmers who was the most eloquent and had been chosen to answer King Óláf. But when he was about to speak he had such a fit of coughing and such difficulty with breathing that he could not utter a word and sat down again. Then another farmer arose with the intention not to fail in his reply, even though the first spokesman had not been so successful. But when he began he stammered so much that he did not get a word out. Then all those who listened fell to laughing, and he sat down. Then the third one got up to speak against King Óláf. But when he started to speak he was so hoarse and husky that no one understood what he said, so he sat down. Then no one of the farmers undertook to speak against the king. And as the farmers got no one to oppose the king, there was no resistance to him, and the end was that all agreed to the king's demands. Then all the people at the assembly were baptized before the king departed. (Heimskringla 1964: 197 [Óláfs s. Tryggvasonar, ch. 55])

In the same manner, Christian "magic" proves stronger than pagan sorcery:

> *Chapter 78. Rauth the Strong and Thórir Hart Are Defeated by the King*
>
> Rauth the Strong was the name of a farmer who lived at Gothey in the Sálptifjord. He was a man of great wealth and had many workers. He was a man who had much power. A great number of Finns followed him whenever he needed them. Rauth was much given to making sacrifices and was a great sorcerer. [...]
>
> *Chapter 79. Sorcery Prevents King Óláf's Fleet from Entering the Sálptifjord*
>
> King Óláf sailed north with his fleet along the land, baptizing all the people wherever he came. And when he arrived at the Sálptifjord in the north, he intended to enter it to find Rauth, but a furious squall and fierce gale swept out from the fjord, and the king lay there for a week, with the same tempestuous blast coming out of the fjord, whilst on the outside there was a favorable wind to sail north. Then the king sailed all the way north to Omth, where all the people accepted Christianity. Then the king reversed his course and steered south again. But when he approached the Sálptifjord from the north, squalls and spume again issued from it. The king lay there several nights while the same weather continued. Then the king spoke with Bishop Sigurth and inquired whether he knew what course to pursue. The bishop replied that he would try and see if God would lend him his might to overcome this fiendish power.
>
> *Chapter 80. Bishop Sigurth Overcomes Rauth's Magic*
>
> Bishop Sigurth put on all his vestments and went forward to the prow of the king's ship, had tapers lit and incense borne. He set up a crucifix on the

stem of the ship, read the gospel and many other prayers, and sprinkled holy water all over the ship. Then he told them to take the tent coverings off and to row into the fjord. The king then had the order to go out to all the other ships to row behind his. And when they started rowing the Crane, she entered the fjord, and the rowers felt no wind blowing on them; and in the space left by its wake there was perfect calm, and the spoondrift receded on both sides, so that the mountains were hidden by it. Then one ship followed the other in that calm. Thus they proceeded all day, and then during the night, and shortly before daybreak arrived at Gothey. And when they approached Rauth's estate they saw his large dragon ship floating on the water near land. (Heimskringla 1964: 212 f. [Óláfs s. Tryggvasonar, chs. 78–80])

The history of the conversion of Norway, which is an important part of Snorri's work, has in fact decided aspects of a power struggle between the Christian God and the pagan demons (assisted by the Devil). While the king preaches Christianity (to the point of torturing and killing non-believers, if necessary), the local population and aristocracy want to maintain the old laws and the customs of their ancestors, especially with regard to sacrifices and the attendant cultic ceremonies with their drinking and merrymaking. The question was thus of the greatest public concern. Listen to Snorri's version of the course of a regional assembly at the time of the late 10th century king Hakon the Good:

Chapter 15. Ásbjorn of Methalhús Opposes the King

King Hákon came to the Frostathing Assembly, and a very large number of farmers attended it. When they met, King Hákon made a speech. He began by saying that it was his bidding and his request, addressed to freeholders and husbandmen alike, of high and low estate, and so to all the people, young men and old, rich and poor, women as well as men, that all should let themselves be baptized and believe in one God, Christ, the son of Mary, and stop all idolatry and heathen worship; that they should keep holy every seventh day, abstaining from work, and fast every seventh day.

But no sooner had the king proposed this to the people than there was a great muttering. The farmers complained that the king wanted to deprive them of their livelihood, that they could not cultivate the land in that fashion. But the working men and thralls thought they could not work unless they had food. They said, too, that it was a failing of King Hákon's, as it was of his father and their kinsmen, that they were stingy of food, even though they were generous in giving gold.

Ásbjorn of Methalhús in Gaular Dale stood up to make answer to what the King had proposed, and spoke as follows.

"It was our thought, King Hákon," he said, "the time you had held our first assembly here in the Trondheim District and we had chosen you king and received from you the title to our ancestral possessions, that very heaven had come down to earth; but now we don't know what to think, whether we have regained our liberty or whether you are going to make us thralls again with the

strange proposal that we should abandon the faith our fathers have had before us, and all our forefathers, first in the time when the dead were burned, and now in the age when the dead are buried. And they were better men than we, and yet this faith has served us very well. We have put so much trust in you that we have let you have your way about all the laws and statutes of our land. Now it is our will, and all the farmers are agreed on this, to obey the laws you have given us here at the Frostathing Assembly and to which we consented. We all want to follow you and to have you be our king so long as one of us farmers who are at the assembly now is alive, if you, sir king, will observe moderation and ask only that of us which we can give you and which is within reason.

"But if you mean to pursue this so high-handedly as to contend against us with force and compulsion, then all of us farmers have made up our minds to desert you and choose another leader, one who will help us freely to have the faith we wish to have. Now you, sir king, shall decide on one of these alternatives before the assembly disperses."

The farmers gave loud acclaim to this speech and said that it was this they wanted.

When silence was restored, Earl Sigurth made this answer: "It is the intention of King Hákon to agree with you farmers, and to let nothing stand between him and your friendship." The farmers said that it was their wish that the king should make sacrifice to procure for them good crops and peace, as his father had done. Thereupon the muttering ceased and they ended the assembly. [...]

Chapter 17. Hákon Is Forced to Participate in the Sacrifice

[...] Next day when people had seated themselves at the tables, the farmers thronged about the king, saying that now he must eat the horse meat [The horse was sacred to Óthin]. That, the king would not do under any condition. Then they asked him to drink the broth from it. He refused to do that. Then they asked him to eat the drippings from it. He would not do that, either, and they came near to making an attack on him. Earl Sigurth said he would help them come to an agreement, asking them to cease their tumult; and he asked the king to gape with his mouth over the handle of the kettle on which the smoke of the broth from the horse meat had settled, so that the handle was greasy from it. Then the king went up to it and put a linen cloth over the handle and gaped with his mouth over it. Then he went back to his high-seat, and neither party was satisfied with that. (Heimskringla 1964: 108–111. [Hákonar s. góða, chs. 15–17])

Indeed some smelly compromise. This was of course no lasting solution. That was rather to come through Olaf Tryggvason's brutality (supported by near — miracles) and finally through Olaf the Saint, in a less violent fashion (with more miracles).

We have already seen that, at least in Snorri's 13th century view, pagan groups were interested in maintaining the beliefs of their ancestors as an established way of life, and in having the king sacrifice for a good harvest

and for peace (til árs ok friðar). Firstly, a strong local tradition, and secondly, apparently a belief in aspects of sacral kingship are obviously significant for the problem which is the topic of my paper: identity, more specifically, group identity. Thus, one of our medieval sources clearly shows the importance of the concept and encourages us to follow it up in other texts or even other kinds of documents, pictorial and archaeological. Any number of theoretical and practical questions now present themselves. How can we arrive at religious foundations of group identity in the case of archaeological material? Are there limitations of the concept caused by polytheism or by social stratification? Such questions can, for Gmc. paganism, be answered only partially (if at all) at present. The source material is too scanty, too fragmentary, or even too ambiguous. Regional or group cults can still be made the topic of interdisciplinary research projects with some chance of success, provided the goals are clearly defined, and the project has the necessary financial and organisational backing (Buchholz 1972b)[1]. Even in the field of Germanic religion, the number of publications is very high and difficult to survey. My own Bibliographie zur Alteuropäischen Religionsgeschichte 1954–64 contains some 5,000 publications (Buchholz 1967), my successor's five-year sequel (1965–69) already has 10,000 (Ahrendts 1974). My decision to group entries mainly according to historical and geographical criteria met with unanimous approval by the ca. 40 reviewers. It is certainly helpful to have a bibliography listing e.g. together archaeological and place name research on the same cult place, and placing it in a historical and regional context. Myths are, of course, not so easily accommodated in such a system; in most cases, they had to be dealt with under the literary sources that contain them. This practical problem already indicates that a correlation of a specific ON myth with a specific Scandinavian or German cult place is highly problematical. There is no doubt in principle that myths could be recited as part of cultic proceedings. But the nature of our source material makes it rather difficult to find concrete instances of this. It

[1] My own project was discontinued just before it could publish the first results. The "Sonderforschungsbereich 17, Skandinavien- und Ostseeraumforschung", a (now defunct) misconstruction with projects from archaeology, modern literature and, particularly, the economic sciences, predictably discovered that cooperation between some projects was not possible. The "solution" was to get rid of some smaller projects. I mention this as a solemn warning against hasty and ill-considered construction of research entities under the flag of a multi-disciplinary approach. At least, there must be safeguards against majority decisions affecting subjects about which that majority knows nothing. This simply follows from generally accepted principles of science and scholarship.

remains nevertheless one of the most challenging research problems in our field. The re-enactment of origin legends at sanctuaries, mentioned in my summary, may well have taken place, but can only be inferred indirectly from written sources and not at all from the archaeologocial finds (which obviously do not contain myths or legends). Religious foundations of group identity can, in the Gmc. field in any case, only be proven with the help of written sources, and at best further confirmed or illustrated by archaeological and pictorial material[2]. Archaeological and place name research, on the other hand, has yielded a number of cult places. For the purposes of the present paper, both Gmc. "cult in life" and "cult in literature" are obviously of interest. For practical reasons, it is best just to discuss or mention the sources we have, and not to try to systematize too much at this stage in the research situation (cf. Buchholz 1968a; Buchholz 1972a; Buchholz 1975). However, the time at my disposal does not permit me to quote or discuss all or even the most important sources, and I must refer you to the handbooks (Jan de Vries is still utterly indispensable). What follows is thus nothing more than a sequence of data which I personally find decisive or promising for further research in connection with the identity problem.

One of the earliest attestations of what must be Gmc. mythical and/or cult poetry is to be found in Tacitus Germania ch. 2[3]:

> In their ancient songs, their only form of recorded history, the Germans celebrate the earth-born god, Tuisto. They assign to him a son, Mannus, the author of their race, and to Mannus three sons, their founders, after whom the people nearest the Ocean are named Ingaevones, those of the centre Herminones, the remainder Istaevones. The remote past invites guesswork, and so some (x) record more sons of the god and more national names, such as Marsi, Gambrivii, Suebi and Vandilici, and maintain that (x) these names are indeed genuine and ancient.

At least some Gmc. tribes thus traced their origin to three generations of gods. The primeval being, Tuisto, fittingly is androgynous (according to the most probable etymology); his son is Mannus, "the human being", two of whose three sons can be linked to later Scandinavian and West

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[2] The pictorial monuments (e.g. the Gotland picture stones and the gold bracteates) can yield information not contained in the written ON sources, but the interpretation of many of them is nevertheless impossible without the help of written sources. See note 5.

[3] The translations from Tacitus follow the Penguin translation by H. Mattingly (Tacitus 1971). I have, however, had to correct an inaccuracy (marked x). The best commented ed. is Tacitus 1967.

Germanic divine or royal names (Ing, Yngvi, Ynglingar; Irmin). The name of the third group, Istaevones (var. Istraeones, Plinius) has not yet been convincingly explained. Almost more interesting than this genealogy is Tacitus' remark that there were more "genuine and ancient" names of gods and (corresponding) tribes. We must conclude that other tribes had traditions celebrating other sons of Mannus, which are, very much to our regret, not mentioned by Tacitus. It is obvious in my view that such differing genealogies existed. Further proof of this is the number of actually incompatible creation myths preserved in ON tradition. And if still further proof was required, we actually have two completely different genealogies, one from Snorri's Edda (SnE 14: Búri – Burr – Óðinn, Vili, Vé), the other from Guta saga, an ON (Old Gutnic) historical account of the isle of Gotland (Þielvar – Hafði – Guti, Graipr, Gunnfjaun). The three sons in the third generation always alliterate. Obviously, there were considerable variations in the myths told and, as we shall see, also in the cults performed in the vast areas of Scandinavia, Denmark and Northern Germany. But that myths such as those mentioned were fundamentally linked to group identity is beyond doubt. Moving on now for a while to the question of Germanic cult practices, we can summarily state that, apart from private and family cults (which did exist, but which we cannot discuss here), public cult took place at certain fixed times of the year (connected with the agricultural calendar) or on special occasions (e.g. connected with famine or war), and at specific sanctuaries. Again according to Guta saga, there seem to have existed different "ranks" of cult places: for the village, the region, and the whole island. Human sacrifices were only performed at the larger sanctuaries, which statement is confirmed by archaeology and ON literature. Human sacrifices thus did exist, but were generally not performed on a large scale. Animal sacrifices were far more frequent. Agricultural products and implements, weapons and objects of value were also sacrificed. We have, for instance, a Celtic sacrificial kettle (with scenes of religious significance, e.g. a human sacrifice, depicted on it), which was itself sacrificed in a Danish bog (Gundestrup), or wagons and wheels (Dejbjerg, Rappendam; cf. also the Bronze Age sun chariot of Trundholm), also from bogs. The Dejbjerg wagon even had a seat for a priest or a sacral image. We can correlate such and other finds with an agricultural milieu and its appropriate rites and myths — cf. the ON traditions about the *Vanir* or the god Freyr, especially his "tour" through Sweden (Schröder 1929: 24–27)[4], accompanied by his "wife",

[4] Gunnars Þáttr Helmings.

which probably derives from a hieros gamos in promotion of agricultural fertility. Tacitus (Germ. 40) describes cultic practices in this connection as follows:

> After them come the Reudigni, Aviones, Anglii, Varini, Eudoses, Suarini and Nuitones behind their ramparts of rivers and woods. There is nothing particularly noteworthy about these people in detail, but they are distinguished by a common worship of Nerthus, or Mother Earth. They believe that she interests herself in human affairs and rides through their peoples. In an island in the Ocean stands a sacred grove, and in the grove stands a car draped with a cloth which none but the priest may touch. The priest can feel the presence of the goddess in this holy of holies, and attends her, in deepest reverence, as her car is drawn by kine. Then follow days of rejoicing and merry-making in every place that she honours with her advent and stay. No one goes to war, no one takes up arms; every object of iron is locked away; then, and then only, are peace and quiet known and prized, until the goddess is again restored to her temple by the priest, when she has had her fill of the society of men. After that, the car, the cloth and, believe it if you will, the goddess herself are washed clean in a secluded lake. This service is performed by slaves who are immediately afterwards drowned in the lake. Thus mystery begets terror and a pious reluctance to ask what that sight can be which is allowed only to dying eyes.

The name *Nerthus* is related to ON *Njǫrðr,* a male god and member of the *vanir* together with *Freyr.* "Mother Earth" indeed seems to have received human sacrifices, as a bog corpse was discovered together with the wagons of Rappendam. The danish archaeologist P. V. Glob links the majority of the considerable number of bog corpses ("Moorleichen") with the Nerthus cult, which is perhaps somewhat simplistic, since according to Tacitus (Germ. 12) and to the finds, there were probably several reasons for the death penalty or for submerging a delinquent or a human sacrifice (which two categories can, but need not coincide) in a fen. The whole category of bog corpses (including "parts" like heads or limbs found in isolation) merits full treatment in book form and does not lend itself to summary in a few sentences.

We can conclude from what Tacitus describes, I think, that gods and/or goddesses were driven in procession round their region, in order to promote fertility and peace (Tac. clausum omne ferrum), cf. the ON sacrificial formula *til árs ok friðar,* usually addressed to Freyr. Such divine beings had a decided agricultural aspect and also promoted peace as a precondition for the proper cultivation of fields.

A great number of Scandinavian and Germanic place names must refer to pagan cult places. In particular, there are the so-called theophorous

place names (part 1 of the name denotes a god, part 2 either a certain kind of sanctuary, or it is a "nature name"). Unfortunately, the relative and absolute chronology of Scandinavian place names has not yet been established with sufficient reliability (Vries 1956–57/2; Dalberg et al. 1984). It is clear, however, that there were different designations for sanctuaries, either of a general nature (vé) or referring to a piece of land or (important!) water (akr, vin, land, vangr, heimr, berg; sær, fors, bekkr, mosi), or to an artificial structure (haugr "grave mound" — also "hill", hǫrgr "stone heap with primitive sculpture", hjallr "elevated platform", stafgarðr "fence incorporating or enclosing posts"). Most sanctuaries were obviously also dedicated to specific gods, at least according to the place names. Cult places seem to have possessed a "priest" or priests responsible for the sacrifices, according to some Runic inscriptions (and designations like OHG harugari, OE heargweard, ON goði, hofgoði): Nordhuglen, 400 AD *ek gudija ungandiR* "I the priest immune against sorcery", Rök, 8th c. *uiauari* "protector of the sanctuary", Snoldelev, 9th c., *þulaR a Salhaugum* "(of the) speaker at Sal-hills — both ON *þulr* and *haugr* have strong religious connotations, to say the least —, and others (Vries 1956–57/1: 397–406).

In summary, then, there were different ranks and different kinds of sanctuaries, with different structures, and dedicated to different gods. Some seem to have had the services of a person in charge of ceremonies. This situation, as it is according to place names and written sources, obviously cries out for assistance by other disciplines, especially archaeology. Place name research can, in its turn, help archaeology by indicating "where to dig", albeit often too vaguely. ON literature can give hints as to the nature of structures or even priests' or magicians' insignia or accessories (staff; girdle; magic pouch! ecstasy-inducing drugs!). Archaeology has been able to demonstrate quite impressively the kind of sacrifices and the manner of sacrificing at a number of sanctuaries (Jankuhn 1970). Obviously, it can not give the name(s) of the god(s) to whom the offerings were made. It can at most approach the problem indirectly by informing us about the above details and the society which sacrificed, e.g. a group of peaceful peasants (Käringsjön) or a warrior aristocracy (Thorsberg, Vimose, Nydam, Ejsbøl, Skedemosse). It must be emphasized that, as in the Romano-Gaulish case, a number of different gods could be venerated in the same sanctuary, perhaps in a historical sequence, but probably also at the same time. A good example of that situation is provided by what is in fact the most exciting and important excavation of a Germanic sanctuary yet: that of the Hermunduric fen and lake sanctuary of Oberdorla in Thuringia,

which was used from the pre-Roman Iron Age to the 4th century AD, i.e. for more than half a millennium. More than twenty idols, both male and female, were found here in differing contexts, with differing attributes and sacrifices including humans. One of the many interesting find categories is the great number of wooden sticks 60 to 80 cms long; they may have been used in connection with the sacrifices for oracular purposes (cf. ON fella blótspán "to let fall the sacrificial pieces of wood"), to find out if the god accepted the sacrifice and granted the wish with which it was most probably made. Some of the idols at other cult places were still put in or near a heap of stones (Broddenbjærg fen). Cf. the following Eddic passage (Hyndluljóð lo, transl. P. Buchholz):

Hǫrg hann mér gerði, hlaðinn steinom,
nú er griót þat at gleri orðit;
rauð hann í nýio nauta blóði,
æ trúði Óttarr á ásynior.

"He made me (sc. Freyja, a Vanir goddess) a hǫrgr constructed of stones, now this rock has become glass; he reddened it in fresh cattle blood; Óttarr always honoured the goddesses".

The glass-like impression of the sacrificial "altar" can be explained by the effect of fires in connection with the blood. A number of Gmc. sanctuaries contain fire places where e.g. probably sacrificial meals were cooked (but also connected with throwing firebrands at something!). The Guta saga calls the sacrificial participants *suþnautar* "cooking companions".

We are now approaching the most difficult questions: Which gods were venerated, which myths were recited at the sanctuaries? As already indicated, the overwhelming majority of archaeological sources do not, and cannot, reveal this. Let us quote from Tacitus (Germ. 39) for the last time:

The oldest and noblest of the Suebi, so it is said, are the Semnones, and the justice of this claim is confirmed by a religious rite. At a set time all the peoples of this blood gather, in their embassies, in a wood hallowed by the auguries of their ancestors and the awe of ages. The sacrifice in public of a human victim marks the grisly opening of their savage ritual. In another way, too, reverence is paid to the grove. No one may enter it unless he is bound with a cord. By this he acknowledges his own inferiority and the power of the deity. Should he chance to fall, he must not get up on his feet again. He must roll out over the ground. All this complex of superstition reflects the belief that in that grove the nation had its birth, and that there dwells the god who rules over all, while the rest of the world is subject to his sway. Weight is lent to this belief by the prosperity of the Semnones.

Germanic belief in a divine ancestor as origin of the tribe, binding it in a common identity, can hardly be expressed more explicitly. The supreme god (whom we need not identify with members of the later ON pantheon!) is placated with a human sacrifice — according to one theory, in a re-enactment of the creation of the world from the dismembered primeval giant Ymir. We do not however know anything about the Semnonic ideas of creation. The detail about the specific mode of entrance into the grove, in contrast, does show some affinity with later Nordic tradition: Helgi is killed by the hero Dagr with Odin's spear in Fiǫturlundr ("grove of fetters") according to HHund II (prose after v. 24. Kuhn [Edda] 1962: 157). That multi-faceted god, Óðinn, had a definite penchant for human sacrifices, usually performed by hanging and/or stabbing. A number of ON legendary heroes were assisted by the god, but often abandoned by him in the end. Several Gmc. royal families traced their origins to Woden/Óðinn. The warrior aristocracies seem to have had a special relationship with this god who was not only a fountain of wisdom, but also extremely skilled in battle magic. As I showed elsewhere (Buchholz 1968b), it is even justified to consider him a divine shaman. These aspects are, at least typologically, extremely old. The Gmc. aristocracy may, from its origins in the late Iron Age, have derived a feeling of corporate identity from divine ancestors and helpers that exhibited such traits as found in the later image of Óðinn. This is most certainly only a hypothesis, but I think plausible. Whether it was this god to whom huge numbers of weapons were sacrificed in migration — age fen sanctuaries, we cannot know for sure. The god does indeed have some subterranean and aquatic aspects. The later connection of Odin and the warrior aristocracy, however, is a fact. Place names connected with Óðinn show that the sanctuaries of this god must have played a role in the formation of the state of Denmark and its main provinces. This remarkable result of place name research fits in very well with my "Wodanistic" aristocracy. The German medievalist Karl Hauck, extensively using data from my dissertation (Buchholz 1968b), has succeeded in demonstrating clear depictions of Óðinn and his shamanistic abilities (including healing and battle magic) on migration-age gold bracteates[5]. These bracteates were certainly used as protective amulets, and most probably manufactured in or near the Danish sanctuaries of Odin (Hauck 1980)[6]. The followers of wealthy and powerful chieftains are a likely circle of recipients for such amulets. As a

[5] Cf. Hauck 1970 and some 20 articles (a number of them in Frühmittelalterliche Studien).

[6] Hauck 1980 is fundamental also in respect of Gmc. identity.

few pictorial monuments show, these holy pieces could even be used as a kind of entry permit into the other world (Hauck 1980: 574 f.).

The spectacular progress of research on the god Óðinn in connection with the gold bracteates and with shamanism has indeed helped to shed light on the religious foundations of aristocratic group identity. The wealth of data from pictorial and written documents connected with Odin and shamanism can, in my view, provide a good foundation for sectoral progress in interpreting archaeological finds previously perhaps not suspected of being linked to religion at all. That the institution of "comitatus", "Gefolgschaft" (organized "following" of a chieftain, dependent on him for a living, giving warrior services in return) was of paramount importance in Gmc. society has again been convincingly demonstrated by the most recent book on Gmc. social structure (Steuer 1982).

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ALVAPPILLAI VELUPPILLAI*

The Hindu Confrontation with the Jaina and the Buddhist

Saint Tiruñāṉacampantar's Polemical Writings

1. Introduction

The history of Tamilnadu is fairly clear for a little more than two thousand years. There is an abundant output of literary works and considerable epigraphical material in a continuous tradition throughout this period. For the first six hundred years of the Christian era, epigraphical material is meagre. The available epigraphical material refers to the presence of Jaina monks in caves, thickly concentrated around Madurai at the initial stage and then scattered to all the different regions of Tamilnadu. Circumstantial evidence points to the presence of Buddhist and Ājīvaka monks also in Tamilnadu during that ancient period (Mahalingam: 1967, 161–192; Mahadevan 1970: 14). It is a matter for surprise that the *Caṅkam* literature, the most ancient phase of Tamil literature, generally ascribed to the first three centuries of the Christian era, is secular in character (Zvelebil 1974: 7). In this literature there are clear references to Brahmins and Vedic sacrifices, as well as some forms of indigenous worship, besides some references to Hindu Gods (Vithiananthan 1954: 106–152). Attempts have been made to trace Jaina, Buddhist and Ājīvaka influence in Caṅkam literature, but such influence does not seem to be significant.

The picture of religious history in Tamilnadu undergoes a change in the Post-Caṅkam period, covering the second three hundred years of the Christian era. For some time there was political turmoil in Tamilnadu and there was what was sometimes referred to as the Dark Age of the Kalabhra Interregnum (Nilakanta Sastri 1966: 144). Though only very

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little is known of this period, what is known points to the Jains and the Buddhists establishing some sort of ascendancy. By the end of the sixth century A.D., the Kalabhra rule in Tamilnadu was overthrown in the north by the Pallavas and in the south by the Pandyas. The Jains had already established themselves so firmly that both the Pallava and Pandya rulers became converts to Jainism.

The Vedic religion of the Brahmins had transformed itself into popular Hinduism during this period. There was a revival of Hinduism with the appearance of Purāṇic literature during the Gupta period. Śiva and Viṣṇu became the leading deities of Hinduism. Some indigenous forms of worship in Tamilnadu were also assimilated into Hinduism. The Bhakti movement, both of the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava variety, made their appearance in Tamilnadu before the seventh century A.D. (Chelvanayagam 1960: 60–63).

The seventh century A.D. was a period of religious conflict when Hinduism, especially the Śaiva Bhakti movement came to collusion with Jainism and Buddhism in Tamilnadu. This century marked a turning point in its religious history. Both the Pallava and the Pandya rulers were converted to Śaivism, which then became the dominant creed of Tamilnadu. Henceforth, almost up to the beginning of the twentieth century, Tamil literature became mainly religious literature. Tirunāvukkaracu nāyaṉār and Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti nāyaṉār were mainly responsible for this transformation. Saint Tirunāvukkaracu, who was twice a convert, first from Śaivism to Jainism and then from Jainism to Śaivism, worked some miracles to save himself from Jaina — inspired attempts to kill him and influenced the conversion of Mahendravarman I, the Pallava ruler to Śaivism (Nilakanta Sastri 1966: 243). Saint Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti (henceforth referred to as Campantar), a young prodigy and a junior contemporary of the former saint, converted Neṭumāṟaṉ, the Pandya ruler to Śaivism. He is also credited with worsting the Buddhists in a debate and converting them to Śaivism (Cēkkiḻār 1955: 330–364).[1]

Campantar is a dominating figure in Tamil Śaivism. *Paṉṉiru Tirumuṟai,* "The Twelve Sacred Books", is the primary base of Tamil Śaivism. Campantar's hymns form the first three books of these twelve. 384 decads 'patikam of hymns' are found in the three compilations. One decad from Tiruviṭaivāy, not included in the three books, has been recovered from an inscription. Numerically, his hymns exceed those of any other Nāyaṉār or Vaiṣṇava Āḻvār. In Periyapurāṇam, the Śaiva hagiology of Cēkkiḻār,

[1] See "Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti Nāyaṉār Purāṇam".

Campantar's biography is the main theme, occupying almost one-third of the whole epic (Cēkkiḻār 1955).[2] Even from the point of view of polemical writings, Campantar had no equal among the other Nāyaṉmārs or the Āḻvārs. Only stray references are available in the hymns of the other saints. Except in very rare cases, each of Campantar's hymns consists of eleven verses and out of these eleven, the tenth verse has criticism of the Jains and the Buddhists. A few decads have twelve verses and in them there is a variation in the number of the verse as either the ninth, the tenth or the eleventh where criticism of the non-Vedic religions occur. It is remarkable that this criticism occurs even in the first hymn composed by this saint when he was said to be just three years old (Cēkkiḻār 1955: 276–277; see verse 79). About 25 out of 385 hymns do not have these polemical references and the reason for this is not clear. Campantar had his main confrontation with the Jains in Madurai and in each of the verses in four hymns which he composed in honour of the Lord of Tiruvālavāy in Madurai, he was attacking the Jains. So, roughly about four hundred verses are available for scrutiny here. According to tradition, Campantar lived for sixteen years only. Saint Cuntaramūrtti, who lived in the eighth or early ninth century, had praised both Campantar and Tirunāvukkaracar.

The *Tēvāram* hymns of Tirunāvukkaracar, Campantar and Cuntaramūrtti had been collected and codified as the first seven *tirumuṟai* by Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi under the patronage of Rajaraja I at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Cuntaramūrtti had already referred to the contemporary and earlier Śaiva saints in his *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* in a concise form. Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi elaborated the references in that hymn into 87 verses in his *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti.* He seems to have developed a particular fascination for Campantar among all the Śaiva saints. Of the other seven prabandha literary works which he authored, six were devoted to praises of Campantar's greatness. All these seven prabandhas were later included in the eleventh *tirumuṟai.* It is in these prabandhas that we first come to hear that Campantar had caused the impalement of 8,000 Jaina monks living on eight hills around Madurai (Paṭiṉōrān 1933: 280–324).[3] For almost four centuries after Campantar, there is no reference at all to

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[2] 1256 verses out of 4286 verses in all.

[3] Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi refers to the impalement of the Jains in the six *prabandhas* which he composed in honour of Campantar whom he refers to as Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār. For examples, see *Tiruvantāti,* verses 12, 28; *Kōvai,* verse 121–8; *Tiruttokai,* line 8; *Tiruvuḷāmālai,* ll. 72–74; *Tiruccaṇṇai viruttam,* verse 98; *Tirukkalampakam,* verses 1, 8, 9.

such an incident.

From Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi's time, the story of the impalement of 8,000 Jains gains credence and different versions of the story make their appearance (Meenaksisundaranār 1957 63–117). Perumparrappuliyūr Nampi of Vēmpattūr (hereafter referred to as Vēmpattūrār) follows him in his *Tiruvālavāyuṭaiyār Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇam* (*Purāṇam* on the sacred sports of Lord Śiva of Madurai), a work most probably of the thirteenth century A.D. According to Vēmpattūrār, from Tirumaṟaikkāṭu, Campantar sent the message to Maṅkaiyarkkaraci and Kulacciṟai, the Śaivite Pandya queen and Pāndya minister respectively that he was coming to Madurai to impale the Jaina crowd and to spread the habit of wearing sacred ash throughout the Pandya country (Perumparrappuliyūr Nampi 1906: 121–131, 131–140). So, Vēmpattūrār makes Campantar blood thirsty or at least guilty of intent of massacre of the Jains even before meeting them face to face.

Parañcōti, who composed another version of *Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ Purāṇam*, made slight changes to the story, maybe to exonerate Campantar of his guilt, as alleged in the well-meaning Vēmpattūrār's work. When Campantar sought permission from Lord Śiva, he replied that the Jains would lose and suffer impalement. So, according to Parañcōti, the initial suggestion about impalement originated from Śiva.

Cēkkiḻār, the author of Periyapurāṇam, the twelfth *Tirumuṟai* of the Śaivites, seems to have a balanced perspective. There is evidence to believe that Cēkkiḻār made a thorough study of Tēvāram collections and did a lot of field work throughout Tamilnadu to equip himself for the composition of his epic (Irācamāṇikkaṉār 1948: 180–188). He must have collected traditions and myths about the Śaiva saints and he had to incorporate them in his work as far as possible. He could not ignore a person of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi's calibre when the latter had been emphasizing the story of impalement of the Jains in many prabandhas. So, Cēkkiḻār narrates the story but without putting the blame on Campantar.

Oṭṭakkūttar, a contemporary of Cēkkiḻār, a court poet of three Cōḻa emperors and one of the *Kaviccakkaravartti* 'Emperor among poets' of the Cōḻa Empire, narrates a slightly different version in his *Takkayākapparaṇi* (Oṭṭakkūttar 1930: 171–220). This version also exonerates Campantar of all personal responsiblity. Considering the fact that Cēkkiḻār himself was a minister of the Cōḻa court, it becomes clear that there were different versions of the story even in the twelfth century A.D., within the court circles of the Cōḻa Emperor.

So, there is no contemporary or even immediately late contemporary

evidence whatsoever for the allegation of Campantar's impalement of 8,000 Jains from eight hills around Madurai. The map showing the sites of ancient Tamil Brahmi inscriptions clearly indicates that the Pandya country, and especially the region around Madurai was the chosen area of operations for the Jaina monks and possibly for the Buddhist monks also. It seems to have taken a long time of about eight hundred years to gain almost complete control over the Pandya country. The story of impalement of the Jains, gaining currency almost four centuries after Campantar, continued to have credence till recently without being challenged for its veracity.

T. P. Meenakshisundaran brought out a good publication in Tamil on Campantar and the Jains about thirty-four years ago (Meenaksisundaran 1957: 1–160). He cleared up some preliminary issues. He pointed out that there are three aspects to the problem. Whether a massacre of such magnitude could have occurred, whether an impalement of a few Jains could have occurred and whether Campantar could have been responsible for the massacre were the questions raised and answered negatively in each case by Meenakshisundaran. He showed that Campantar was broad-minded and that the latter was mainly critical of extreme and insincere ascetic practices only of the Jains and the Buddhists. About a third of his book deals with the explanation for Campantar's dislike under seven sub-headings.[4] His work is an inspiration to the present writer to probe deeply into the matter and to assess why Campantar's polemical writings had given rise to the story of impalement of the Jains.

2. Campantar's Personality

First of all, it is useful to form an idea of the powerful personality of Campantar. His hymns should be the primary source while Periyapurāṇam could be a secondary source. He seems to reflect a unique blend of Vēdic tradition, Śaiva faith and Tamil culture.

How Campantar identifies with Tamil culture is worthy of detailed study. This identification is usually found in the eleventh or the last verse of each hymn. His hymn and in some cases, each verse of his

[4] The seven sub-headings are on the following: (1) Buddhists and Campantar, (2) Ārampar, (3) Saying that it exists and exists not, (4) Running down poets, (5) Stealing fish from marshy lands, (6) Ājīvakas and Jains, (7) Kuṇṭar.

hymn are referred to as *Tamil*, presumably referring to the expression of Tamil culture in Tamil language. It is customary to refer to the Pandya country as the Tamil country. Though there is some controversy among medieval commentators as to the boundaries of Centamiḻnāṭu, it is generally accepted that the region around Madurai constituted the core of that region. Cēkkiḻār has referred to the Pandya country as the Tamilnadu even within *Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti nāyaṉār Purāṇam.* Campantar refers to his home town as *centamiḻ parappuṟu tiruppukali* 'Sacred Pukali that disseminates classical Tamil'.[5] As far as available evidence goes, Cīrkāḻi did not have any historical claim of disseminating classical Tamil. *Tillai* or Citamparam, very close to Cīrkāḻi, has been glorified as temple par excellence of the Śaivites and the three thousand Brāhmins of that shrine have claimed a higher status and exclusive privileges even within the Brāhmin community. Cuntaramūrtti, in his Tiruttoṇṭattokai, raises the status of all the Tillai Brāhmins to the status of saints. Campantar refers to *Tamiḻāl uyarntār uṟai Tillai* 'Citamparam, where those who came up through Tamil, dwell'.[6] Neither Citamparam nor the Brāhmins from Citamparam have made any significant contributions to Tamil, up to the age of Campantar. Campantar seems to be using that word in a special sense to refer to Tamil Vedic Śaivism which he was championing and to the formation of which Tillai Brāhmins might have contributed substantially.

Campantar was able to play the language card against the Jains because they were using Prakrit as their sacred language. He was accusing them of *Ākamattoṭu mantiraṅkaḷ amainta cankata paṅkamā ppākatattoṭu iraittuṟaittu* 'having made loud noises in Prakrit, a corrupt form of Sanskrit in reciting their sacred texts and incantations'.[7] There is evidence from literary and epigraphical sources to indicate that Sanskrit was displacing Prakrit and Päli in Tamilnadu from about the fifth century A.D. The Pallava kings who first used Prakrit in their early inscriptions began to use Sanskrit in their inscriptions from about this time. Dandin composed *Kāvyadarśa* in Sanskrit in the Pallava court. The Buddhist monks from Kāñci also began to use Sanskrit. The Sanskrit scholars consider Prakrit a corrupt form of Sanskrit. The Śaiva poet-saint seems to have shared their attitude. He also blames the Jains for not being aware of the use of Sanskrit and literary Tamil, *āriyattoṭu centamiḻ ppayaṉ aṟikilā.*[8] Probably, the Jain monks were using colloquial language to appeal to

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[5] TCT: 53.
[6] TCT: 5.
[7] TCT: 524. Tiruvalavay hymn.
[8] TCT: 524.

the Tamil masses. Even though Campantar refers to the Jains here, this blame might have been equally applicable to the Buddhists also, as could be inferred from *Vīracōḻiyam,* a Tamil grammatical work by a Buddhist author, which gives importance to colloquial Tamil. Here too, the Śaiva saint could be sharing the prejudice of many Tamil grammarians that colloquial Tamil was a corrupt form of classical Tamil. He seems to imply that people using corrupt forms of language must have been themselves corrupt. Probably the Jains and the Buddhists had not adopted proper nativization or indigenization of their religions in Tamil.

Campantar was a proud Brāhmin as well as a proud Tamilian. He claims to be *maṟai ñāṉacampantaṉ,*[9] *nāṉmaṟai ñāṉacampantaṉ*[10] and *arumaṟai ñāṉacampantaṉ*[11] besides as *pūcuraṉ* 'devā in the earth'[12] to claim excellence as a Brāhmin. His claims as a Tamilian are far more impressive: *Tamiḻ ñāṉacampantaṉ*[13] *naṟṟamiḻ ñāṉacampantaṉ*[14]; *cen Tamiḻāṉ ñāṉacampantaṉ*[15], *Tamiḻ virakaṉ*[16], *Tamiḻ virakiṉaṉ*[17], *muttamiḻ virakaṉ*[18], *Tamiḻākaraṉ*[19] and *Tamiḻ cuṟṟumuṟṟumāyiṉāṉ.*[20] He has combined his claims for both honours in a few places as in *muttamiḻ nāṉmaṟai ñāṉacampantaṉ*[21] and *nāṉmaṟai nāvaṉ naṟṟamiḻkkiṉ tuṟai ñāṉacampantaṉ.*[22] When he claims to be a *pūcuraṉ,* he is not claiming a personal honour. That he was claiming only a caste honour becomes apparent when he refers to the Brāhmins generally as *pūcurar* and its synonym of *taraittēvar.*[23]

Campantar owed his dislike of the Buddhists and the Jains to his family background. Jainism and Buddhism originated as revolts against Vedic sacrifices and Brāhmin domination and it is no surprise that orthodox Brāhmin circles viewed with alarm the growing popularity of those religions in Tamilnadu. But Campantar's family could have had some special reason also. According to *Periyapurāṇam,* Campantar's mother Pakavati

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[9] TCT: 10. Tirukkaḻippālai hymn. maṟai = Vedas.
[10] TCT: 62. Tiruppukali hymn. Four Vedas.
[11] TCT: 80. Tiruccirapuram hymn. Vedas of rare value.
[12] TCT: 214, 343, 523. Tiruvaiyāṟu, Tirunaḷḷāṟu and Tiruvālavāy hymns.
[13] TCT: 27, 48. Tiruveṇkāṭu and Tiruppukali hymns.
[14] TCT: 7, 170. Tiruvēṭkaḷam and Tiruvāḻkoḻiputtur hymns.
[15] TCT: 663. Tirumayilāppūr hymn.
[16] TCT: 109. Cīrkāḻi hymn.
[17] TCT: 118. Tirukkaḻumalam hymn.
[18] TCT: 536. Tiruvālavāy hymn.
[19] TCT: 111. Cīrkāḻi hymn.
[20] TCT: 311. Tirutturutti hymn.
[21] TCT: 74. Tiruppūntarāy hymn.
[22] TCT: 644. Tiruvilampaiyaṅkāṭṭūr hymn.
[23] TCT: 141. Cīrkāḻi hymn.

hailed from Tirunaṉipaḷḷi, south of Kāviri (Cēkkiḻār 1955: 280, verse 109). *Paḷḷi* generally denotes a temple of the heretical religions and *pāḷi* generally denotes a monastic establishment of the same religions. Campantar has used both these words in the above senses.[24] There is evidence from other sources that the Buddhists had established themselves in certain parts of the Cōḻa country (Veluppillai 1980: 86–116). In fact, even according to *Periyapurāṇam,* Campantar's confrontation with the Buddhists occurs in the Cōḻa country (Cēkkiḻār 1955: 361, verse 904). Through a study of the life-history of some saints in *Periyapurāṇam,* Mayilai Cīṉi Vēṅkaṭacāmi has shown that there were certain pockets of Jainism in the Cōḻa country (Vēṅkaṭacāmi 1954). So, Tirunaṉipaḷḷi must have been either a Jaina or a Buddhist or a Jaina-Buddhist locality where there was also a temple for Śiva.

The Tirunaṉipaḷḷi Brahmins were probably on the defensive against the rising tide of heretical religions. When they came to know that Campantar was a rising star in the cause of Śaivism and that he had started on a pilgrimage to Śiva temples in and around Cirkāḻi, they went on a deputation to invite him to his mother's village, probably to gain some inspiration. At Tirunaṉipaḷḷi, it was probably the grievance of the Brahmins that the poorer sections of the people went over to the heretical religions. In his hymn on Tirunaṉipaḷḷi, Campantar accuses the Buddhist and the Jaina monks of being only interested in food.[25] So, most probably, Pakavati, his mother instilled into Campantar's young mind an intense dislike for the heretical religions.

It is also important to note how Campantar viewed himself. Instead of the Sanskrit derivative *nāyaṉār,* he uses its Tamil equivalent of talaivaṉ.[26] He seems to be more fond of equating himself with king or chieftain as can be noticed in the use of words *kāvalaṉ*[27], *maṉ*[28], *maṉṉaṉ*[29], *vēntaṉ*[30], *kulapati*[31] and *kōṉ*[32]. The Tamil word forms *iṟai* and *iṟaivaṉ* can mean

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[24] TCT: 450, 147. Tiruviḷamar and Piramapuram hymns.

[25] TCT: 201. Tiruvaikāvūr hymn is one of the instances.

[26] TCT: 201. Tiruvaikāvūr hymn is one of the instances.

[27] TCT: 186. Tirumaṅkalakkuṭi hymn.

[28] TCT: 526 and 641. Tiruvālavāy and Tiruvūṟal hymns.

[29] TCT: 208, 255, 472, and 482. Tiruvaiyāṟu, Tirukkaṇṭiyūr vīraṭṭam, Tiruppātāḻīccaram and Tirukkaṭikkuḷam hymns.

[30] TCT: 272 and 499. Tirunallūr and Tiruvalivalam hymns.

[31] TCT: 404. Tiruccivapuram hymn.

[32] TCT: 21, 32, 86, 123, 188, 379, 404, 584, 633. Tiruccāykkāṭu, Kīḻaittirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi, Tiruppuṟavam, Kaḻumalam, Tiruppaṉantāḷ, Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, Tiruccivapuram, Tiruvatikai Vīraṭṭāṉam and Tiruvōttūr hymns. Obviously, Campantar has some preference for

king but later day usage has specialised them as god. Campantar uses both these forms to refer to himself.[33] The word *perumāṉ*, considered to be a derivative of the earlier Tamil word *perumakaṉ*, denotes king occasionally but god generally. Campantar calls himself *perumāṉ* in two places.[34] He is very self confident. In two places, he uses the expression, *āṇai namatē*, which could be translated as 'on my authority'.[35] It is in those verses that he claims to be a *muṉivaṉ*, equivalent to Sanskrit ṛsi. In one of those verses, he claims to have mystical knowledge.[36] He is very certain about the great worth of his hymns.[37] In the hymn which is being addressed to the Pandya queen in Madurai where he reiterates that he is not afraid of the Jains, he refers to the Pandya king as *muṭi teṉṉavaṉ*, 'the crowned king of the south', and to himself as *pukalikku maṉ Tamiḻ nātaṉ* 'King of Pukali, Lord of Tamil'.[38] 'Saintly lord' (Hardy 1983: 69) is probably a better designation for him.

3. Campantar's Positive View

Campantar was aware that Jainism and Buddhism had great appeal among the masses and that these religions had a positive side. These religions were emphasizing ethics as a way of life. Under Jaina authorship or Jaina inspiration, a number of Tamil ethical works were written and were later included in the collection *Patiṉeṇ Kīḻkkaṇakku* 'Eighteen Minor Works'. Nālaṭiyār, clearly a work of Jaina authorship, is very much sought after even now. The religion of the author of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is still a matter of controversy but no serious scholar doubts Jaina inspiration on its author. The Jaina monks were generally learned people and Campantar acknowledged it when he refers to them as *kaṟṟamaṇar*.[39] The expression

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the term kōṉ.

[33] TCT: 197, 371, 402, 484, 501, 509, 520, 616, 686. Tiruppuṟampayam, Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, Tiruccivapuram, Tiruttaṇṭalai Nīṇēri, Tirukkaicciṉam, Tirumaṟaikkāṭu, Tirukkēṭiccaram, Tiruvāmāttūr and Tiruvanēkataṅkāvatam hymns. *Iṟai* is the other term, equally preferred by Campantar. *Iṟaivaṉ* occurs only in one place in *Tiru Kṣēttirakkōvai* hymn on 696.

[34] TCT: 518, 678. Tirukōṇamalai, Tiruvacciṟupākkam hymns.

[35] TCT: 325, 698. Tirunaṉipaḷḷi hymn and Kōḷaṟu Tiruppatikam.

[36] TCT: 698.

[37] TCT: 437. Tirukkīḻvēḷūr hymn.

[38] TCT: 525–26.

[39] TCT: 52. Tiruppukali hymn.

aṟavurai, 'Discourse on Dharma' is used by him in a number of hymns[40] to refer to the preaching of the Jaina and Buddhist monks. He, of course, feels that their discourses on *dharma* are defective and incomplete because they ignore or criticise faith in Śiva.[41] According to Tirukkētāram hymn, even Śiva listens to their discourses on dharma and then rewards them.[42] Another hymn says that the Jains and Buddhists mix falsehood and truth in their teachings.[43] Campantar seems to be using a pun when he utilises a *sandhi* rule to make aṟavurai into *maṟavurai,*[44] which is just the opposite of it. The monks of the heretical religions were said to be of pleasing words.[45] He says that Jaina monks make false penance appear like real penance, as according to Campantar, penance not directed to Śiva is false penance.[46] The Jains were well known for their extreme ascetic practices. The Jains and Buddhists had convincing arguments and they looked capable of performing wonderful magical feats.[47] They talked about justice but never reflected on concepts of justice.[48] They who preach about *dharma* have not read discourses on dharma.[49] Campantar feels that *dharma* should include faith in Saivism.

What Campantar was trying to do was to woo the Tamilian adherents of the heretical religions[50] and to prevent the other Tamils from being converted to those non-Vedic religions. Sometimes, Campantar projects his heart as a separate person and advises it to reject such preaching of the other religionists.[51] In a considerable number of places, he appeals to the people to reject or ignore their teachings and to come over for worship in the Śaiva shrines.[52] There are also a number of hymns where he says

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[40] TCT: 46, 64, 116, 118, 120, 688. Tiruvēṇupuram, Tiruveṅkuru, Tirukkoccaivayam, Tirukkaḻumalam (2), Tirukkētāram hymns.

[41] TCT 118, 636. Tirukkaḻumalam and Tiruvallam hymns. *calaneṟiyaṉa aṟavuraikaḷ; kuṉṟiya aṟavurai.*

[42] TCT: 688. *aṭukka niṉṟ-avv-aṟavuraikaḷ kēṭṭaṅk-avar viṉaikaḷai kkeṭukkiṉṟa pirāṉ.*

[43] TCT: 405. Tiruccivapuram hymn. *puttaroṭ-amaṇarkaḷ poyyurai meyyurai.*

[44] TCT: 203. Tiruvaṭa kuraṅkāṭuturai hymn. *pittar tam maṟavurai.*

[45] TCT: 164. Tirutturutti – Tiruvēḷvikkuṭi hymn. *nayamiku-v-uraiyiṉar.*

[46] TCT: 125. Tirukkaḻumalam hymn. *poyttavattai meyttavamāy.*

[47] TCT: 443. Tiruvārūr hymn. ... *coṉṉa intiracālam oḻint-iṉpuṟa.*

[48] TCT: 30. Tiruvēṇkāṭu hymn. *pōtiyar piṇṭiyar poruttamillikaḷ nīṭikaḷ colliyum niṉaiyakiṟkilār.*

[49] TCT: 80. Tiruccirapuram hymn. *kaṟṟilar aṟavurai.*

[50] Even among the sixty-three Śaiva saints in Periyapurāṇam, Tirunāvukkaracu and Niṉṟacīr Neṭumāṟaṉ were converts from Jainism and Cākkiyar was a convert from Buddhism. See 202–203; 493–494; 447–449.

[51] TCT: 2, 6, 10, 258, 499. Tiruccōṟṟuturai hymn on 258 mentions heart (mind) explicitly. In other instances, mind can be inferred.

[52] TCT: 46, 64, 118, 80, 164, 180, 405 and 443. Tiruvēṇupuram, Tiruveṅkuru,

that Śiva ignores or disapproves of their teachings.[53]

4. Contrasting Jains with Buddhists.

Campantar is very fond of contrasting some of the activities of the Jains and the Buddhists. The Jains and the Buddhists used to describe some Hindu religious practices as superstitious and claimed to be more rationalistic. But they themselves ended up as worshippers of the Bō-tree and the Asōkā tree. According to the Jains, Mahavīra, their last Tīrttaṅkara attainèd enlightenment under an Asōka tree, and according to the Buddhists, Gautama Buddha attained enlightenment under a Bō-tree. The Jains and the Buddhists pay obeisance to these trees[54], plant these trees in their places of worship and monasteries and look after the well-being of these trees with the utmost reverence. The worshippers of the Bo-tree are called *Pōtiyar* and the worshippers of the Asōka tree are called *Piṇṭiyar,* from another name of the tree.

Campantar seems to relish portraying the contrasting feature in dress between the Jaina and the Buddhist monks.[55] The Digambara Jaina sect which insists on nudity, discarding all clothing for monks seems to have been the Jaina sect that was popular in Karnataka and Tamilnadu in South India. The Buddhist monks on the other hand were enjoined to robe themselves fully with yellow or saffron coloured cloth.

While the Jaina monks were enjoined to eat standing, the Buddhist monks were enjoined to sit and eat. In three hymns, Campantar has referred to the contrast of the Jaina monks standing and eating and the Buddhist monks sitting and eating.[56]

Tirukkaḻumalam, Tiruccirapuram, Tirutturutti-Tiruvēḷvikkuṭi, Tirukkaṭampūr, Tiruccivapuram, Tiruvārūr hymns.

[53] TCT: 52, 116, 477, 495, 688. Tiruppukali, Tirukkoccaivayam, Tirucciṟṟēmam, Tirunellikkā and Tirukkētāram hymns

[54] TCT: 60. Tiruppukali hymn. *piṇṭiyum pōtiyum pēṇuvār.*

[55] TCT: 8, 15, 24, 32, 36, 38, 41, 49, 110, 129, 175, 177, 206, 273, 542, 570, 709. Some examples are as follows: *kuṇṭamaṇ tuvarkkūṟai mūṭar col* ... Tirunelvāyil, 8. *uṭai tuṟantavarkaḷum uṭai tuvar uṭaiyarum* ... Tirumayēntirappaḷḷi, 15. *uṇṭuṭukkaiyiṉṟiyē ūr nakavē tirivār kaṇṭuṭukkai meyyiṟ pōrttār,* 24. The other hymns are from Kīḻaittirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi, Tiruppiramapuram, Tiruppukali, Cīkāḻi, Tirukkaḻumalam, Tirunāraiyūr (2), Tiruvaiyāṟu, Tirunallūr, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam and Tirunaṇā.

[56] TCT: 396, 518, 563. Tirunaṟaiyūr ccitticcaram, Tirukkōṇamalai and Tirukkuṟṟālam hymns. *niṉṟuṇ camaṇum iruntuṇ tērarum* 518; *iruntuṇ tērarum niṉṟuṇ camaṇarum* 563.

A contrast in another eating habit prescribed for the Jains and the Buddhist monks also is portrayed by Campantar. The Buddhist monks should not eat after noon and the Jain monks should not eat after sunset. So, in the early morning, the Buddhist monks go around collecting alms.[57]

The Jain and Buddhist monks are expected to have bald heads without hair but they are enjoined to achieve that state by different means.[58] The Buddhist monks are enjoined to shave their heads while the Jain monks are enjoined to pluck their entire hair from their heads. Campantar has referred to the death agony of the Jaina monks when they undergo the ordeal of plucking their own hair off.[59]

A contrast in meals was also noticed by Campantar even though both religions claimed ahimsa or non-killing as their prime virtue.[60] The Jain religion extended the principle of ahimsa to embrace vegetarianism and insisted that not only the Jaina clergy but also the Jaina laity should observe strict vegetarianism. Buddhism took the stand that non-vegetarian food can be eaten if the person concerned did not kill. Even Buddhist monks are allowed non-vegetarian food if the monks can be sure that killing was not resorted to with the express purpose of feasting them.

The Śaiva saint seems to have had a sense of humour when he was making some references to these heretical religions. The Digambara Jaina monks preaching dharma have been referred to as *āṭai tavirtt-aṟaṅ kāṭṭu-pavarkaḷ* 'those who remove their clothes and demonstrate dharma'[61] and as *kuṟaṅ kāṭṭu nāl viliṟ kōvaṇattu kkōlōvippōy aṟaṅ kāṭṭuñ camaṇar* 'the Jaina monks who have even discarded four inch wide under garment worn by gypsy men and who demonstrate dharma'.[62] The Jaina monks who have given up bathing as an extreme form of asceticism are ridiculed by Campantar as *alaiyārum puṉal tuṟanta amaṇ kuṇṭar* 'the nude Jaina

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[57] TCT: 565. *mūṭiya cīvarattār muṉ kūṟuṇṭēkutalum piṉ kūṟuṇṭu kāṭi toṭu camaṇai* ... Tirukkuṟumpalā, 565.

[58] TCT: 354. *vaḷi talai paṟi talaiyavarkaḷ* ... Tiruvamparpperun Tirukkōyil, 354. The Jaina mode of paṟi talai had been frequently referred to as in, *talaiyai ppaṟippār* ... Tiruppukali. 55. *paṟitta puṉ talai* ... Tiruccirapuram, 82. *talai paṟitta kaiyar* ... Cīrkāḻi, 107. There are more such references on 145, 158, 360, 371, 376, 509, 620, 676.

[59] TCT: 525. *cām avattaiyṉiṉārkaḷ pōl talaiyai ppaṟittu* ... Tiruvālavāy, 525.

[60] TCT: 197.
viṭakkoruvar naṉṟeṉa viṭakkoruvar tīṯeṉa
uṭaṟkuṭai kaḷaintavar uṭampiṉai maṟaikkum
paṭakkarkaḷ ... Tiruppuṟampayam, 197.

[61] TCT: 180. Tirukkaṭampūr hymn.

[62] TCT: 22. Tiruccāykkāṭu hymn.

monks who have renounced water full of waves'.[63] The Brāhmins take baths frequently and use water frequently for personal cleanliness and probably this criticism arose from their point of view. In referring to the Buddhist monks, Campantar calls them *meyyai ppōrkkum poyyar,*[64] (the liers who cover up the truth) where the word mey has the meaning of 'body' as well as 'truth'.

Though Campantar refers to both religions in most of his polemics, there are a few where he refers to one of these religions only. The Tiruppuṉkūr hymn appeals to the heart 'not to listen to mad men who eat alms and who are completely nude, without clothes'.[65] One of the Tiruvīḻimiḻalai hymns asks people to answer Campantar who the god of the Jainas was as he could not be located in any of the eight directions.[66] In the same reference, he had described the nude Jaina monks as carrying beautiful peacock feathers and a water pot. The Tiruviḻamar hymn appeals to people 'not to have faith in the Jaina temple of those who do not know penance, who carry a water pot and who confuse people playing on words to impress dull-witted people'.[67] The hymn on Tiruvatikai vīraṭṭāṉam also seems to refer to the Jains only.[68] The first hymn on Citamparam seems to refer to the Buddhists only when it says, 'without listening to discourse on ignorant fabrication of saffron robed monks who worship idols of human beings'.[69]

5. References to Ājīvakas and Others

Campantar mentions the word *kuṇṭar* in many places. T. P. Meenaksisundaran discusses its possible significance and arrives at the conclusion

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[63] TCT: 328. Tiruttalaiccaṅkāṭu hymn. The Jaina monks refrained from taking baths and washing themselves because they did not want to hurt the minute living beings in water. As a form of penance, some of them used to stand on rocks in very warm sun-light and used to perspire profusely. So, Campantar criticises them often for their dirty, dusty and foul-smelling bodies, as can be seen on 12, 19, 43, 109, 152, 186, 190, 286, 288, 300, 322, 345, 356, 381, 385, 394, 404, 416, 448, 457, 596, 618, 639, 688. Some examples are as follows: *mācu piṟakkiya mēṉiyār* ... Tirukkalikkāmūr, 19. *tuppuravoṉṟilā verṟaraiyār* ... Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, 381. *kuḷitt-uṇā amaṇar* ... Tirumāṟpēṟu, 639.

[64] TCT: 235. Tiruvāṉaikkā hymn.

[65] TCT: 161.

[66] TCT: 383. Tiruvīḻimiḻalai hymn.

[67] TCT: 450.

[68] TCT: 586.

[69] TCT: 2.

that Campantar referred to nude persons by that word (Meenaksisundaranar 1957: 149–160).[70] So, the latter might be clubbing together both the Jaina and the Ājīvaka monks as *kuṇṭar*. The Ājīvakas rejected *guṇa* 'characteristic property' as a category of things and so Campantar's references to *kuṇamilikaḷ* 'those who reject characteristic property' and *kuṇamilātār* 'those who do not accept characteristic property' should denote the Ājīvakas.[71] The Ājīvaka monks were not enjoined to observe celibacy and so Campantar's reference to *karuvīṟilā ppittar* 'mad persons attached to sex' might refer to them.[72] The expression *āccīyappēykaḷ*, which as such does not seem to make sense, should have been a mistake for *āccīvakappēykaḷ* 'Ājīvaka devils'.[73] As they seem to be the only group of monks, not bound by the oath of celibacy, Campantar might be referring to them when he says, *cātiyil nīṅkiya attavattār* (monks excluded from their tribe).[74]

6. Buddhists Preferred to the Jains

Though Campantar mentions the Jains and the Buddhists together in his polemics, he is generally harsh on the Jains and mild on the Buddhists, as can be seen from the following references:

ūttai vāy ccaman kaiyarkaḷ cākkiyarkkeṅṟum āttamāka aṟivaritāyavaṉ 'one who is very rarely well-known to the Buddhists and to the base Jains with dirty mouth'[75]

puttaroṭu poṟiyil camaṇum 'the Buddhists and the senseless Jains'[76]

puttar poy miku camaṇar 'the Buddhists and the Jains full of lies'[77]

There are very few instances where Campantar had given harsh attributes to the Buddhists.

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[70] The terms *kuṇṭu* or *kuṇṭar* also occur very frequently in Campantar's hymns, as can be seen on 8, 32, 46, 72, 113, 115, 161, 164, 169, 171, 210, 258, 262, 305, 328, 345, 351, 365, 369, 383, 393, 400, 470, 482, 529, 539, 561, 622, 629, 641, 652, 666, 671, 682, 684, 691.

[71] TCT: 345, 365. Tirunaḷḷāṟu and Tiruppāmpuram hymns.

[72] TCT: 363. Tiruttilataippati hymn.

[73] TCT: 652. Tirukkaḷḷil hymn.

[74] TCT: 343. Tirunaḷḷāṟu hymn.

[75] TCT: 21. Tiruccāykkāṭu hymn.

[76] TCT: 35. Tiruppiramapuram hymn.

[77] TCT: 105. Cīrkāḻi hymn.

eṇṇ iṟanta amaṇarkaḷum iḻi toḻil cēr cākkiyarum 'numerous Jains and Buddhists with base activities'[78]

uriñcaṉa kūṟaikaḷ uṭampiṉarāki uḻitaru camaṇaruñ cākkiya ppēykaḷ 'the Buddhist devils and wandering Jains with bodies uncovered with cloth'[79]

There is evidence to conclude that Campantar respected the Buddhists more than the Jains.[80]

puttar tattuvamillā ccamaṇ 'the Buddhists and the Jains without philosophy'[81]

puttarkaḷ tattuvar moytt-uṟi pulkiya kaiyar 'those with hands carrying the swing and the Buddhists who are philosophers having assembled'[82]

taṭukk-amaruñ camaṇaroṭu tarkka cāttirattavar 'the Buddhist logicians and the Jains who sit on a small mat'[83]

For a few centuries preceding Campantar, much work was done on Buddhist philosophy and logic in Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu, especially around Kanchi, and Campantar must have been aware of these developments (Veluppillai 1980: 86–116). He seems to have had contempt for the Jainas.

Campantar seems to have had a particular aversion to the *anekāntavāda* or the *syādvāda* philosophy of the Jains. Their exposition of syādvāda seemed to Campantar as if they were making contradictory statements to confuse and frighten people.

attaku poruḷ uṇṭum illaiyum eṉṟu niṉṟavarkk-accamā ott-ovvāmai moḻintu 'having made positive and negative statements like such a thing exists and exists not'[84]

This type of exposition had been described by Campantar as *kavar vāy moḻi* 'ambiguous statement'.[85] Those who make ambiguous statements have been described as *kavaruṟu cintaiyāḷar* 'ambiguous thinkers'.[86] The

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[78] TCT: 379. Tiruvīḻimiḻalai hymn.

[79] TCT: 644. Tiruvilampaiyaṅkōṭṭūr hymn.

[80] Cākkiya nāyaṉār was said to be a Buddhist priest who, without discarding any rules, became a staunch Saivite. He is accepted as one of the Saiva saints. See Cākkiya nāyaṉār Purāṇam; 18 verses in Cēkkiḻār 1955 (3641–3658 verses).

[81] TCT: 311. Tirutturutti hymn.

[82] TCT: 341. Tiruttarumapuram hymn.

[83] TCT: 505. Tirukkōḻili hymn.

[84] TCT: 524. Tiruvālavāy hymn. *uṇṭu* and *illai* can occur as *uṇṭilai* 'yes-no'. The Tamil word *uṇṭilai* from the verbal base *uṇ* 'eat' can mean 'not eaten'. So, Campantar uses it as a pun in *uṇṭilaiyeṉṟē niṉṟē tam kaiyil uṇpōr* 'those who eat from their hands after having said yes-no'. The second meaning is of the Jain monks receiving and eating more and more alms claiming that they have not yet eaten. Tiruppuṟavam hymn, 86.

[85] TCT: 206–301. Tiruvaiyāṟu and Tirutteṇkuraṅkāṭuturai hymns.

[86] TCT: 398. Tirunaṟaiyūrccittīccaram hymn.

context in which the last two expressions occur can be interpreted as covering both the Jains and the Buddhists. But Campantar was specific when he refers to *cintai tirukaṟ camaṇar* 'the Jains who confuse the mind'.[87] The Jains and the Buddhists depended on arguments and debates for the propagation of their religions.[88] Campantar complains that the Jaina laity and the Buddhist clergy argue till their death to propagate their religions.[89] He has mentioned the name of one of those debating centres as *Kavippeyarc cattiram* in one of his hymns on Tiruvālavāy.[90] So, most probably this centre existed in Maturai.

7. Critical and Abusive Terms

The heretical religions depended on preaching and Campantar uses the word *urai* to denote it in a number of places.[91] The expression *kaṭṭurai,* which in modern Tamil means an essay, a composition or an article, seems to have been used by Campantar in a loaded sense to mean 'fabricated discourse'.[92] Quite a number of hymns have this expression *kaṭṭurai* to refer to the preachings of the heretical religions. From Campantar's point of view, the Vedas alone were revelations of God Śiva about the truth. He had paraphrased *kaṭṭurai* as *kaṭṭiya moḻi*[93] and *ākkiya urai*[94] in other places. As the teachings of the heretical religions owed their existence to their enlightened founders and not to divine revelations, Campantar was running them down. Probably because *kaṭṭurai* itself seems to have become stereotyped and does not seem to express what he wanted to communicate, he began to use *kaṭṭiya kaṭṭurai.*[95] The duplication of *kaṭṭu*

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[87] TCT: 347. Tirunaḷḷāru hymn.

[88] TCT: 70, 175, 254, 624, 673, 690. Some examples are as follows: *virutu pakarum veñcoṟ camaṇar vañca cākkiyar* – Tirukkailāyam hymn, 690. *vātu cey camaṇ ...* Tiruvaciṟupākkam hymn, 673. Other instances are from Tiruveṅkuru, Tirunāraiyūr, Mēlaittirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi and Tirukkacciyēkampam hymns.

[89] TCT: 98. Cīkāḻi hymn. Probably because they were such experts in religious disputation that Campantar had to appeal to Siva's grace twenty times in each verse of the two Tiruvālavāy hymns, 526–527, 532–534.

[90] TCT: 524.

[91] TCT: 5, 159, 192, 203. Kōyil, Tiruniṉṟiyūr, Tiruntutēvaṉkuṭi and Tiruvalañculi hymns.

[92] TCT: 2, 54, 199, 288, 290, 300, 391, 472, 572, 665. Kōyil, Tiruppukali, Tiruvicayamaṅkai, Tirunākēccuram (2), Tiruviṭai marutūr, Tiruviḻimiḻalai, Tiruppātāḻiccaram, Tirukkoṭimāṭacceṅkuṉṟūr and Tiruvāṉmiyūr hymns.

[93] TCT: 354. Tiru Amparpperuntirukkōyil hymn.

[94] TCT: 407. Tirukkarukkuṭi hymn.

[95] TCT: 622. Tirukkacciyēkampam hymn.

here is a device employed by Tamil to emphasize the point. He uses *kaṭṭu* as an attribute in *kaṭṭ-amaṇ tēr*[96] probably to include both religions. The appellative noun form of *kaṭṭar* 'fabricators' seems to have been used for both in one place[97] and to the Jains only in another place.[98]

Campantar uses a considerable number of expressions to denote that the Jains and the Buddhists were not mature enough or intelligent enough to evaluate religions. Here, his attack seems to be two-fold. One set of terms, like *ātar* and *ātamilli,* seems to be just negative, denying them discriminatory wisdom. He has used *ātamilli* in one place only in Tiruvālavāy to refer to the Jains in the heat of the confrontation.[99] He has used *ātar* in thirteen places and in eight places out of them he refers to the Jains only.[100] Of the other five places, he refers to the Jains in four places but the Tamil word-order gives a chance to interpret that he could be referring to the Buddhists also.[101] As for the Buddhists, he uses *mūṭar* 'fools' in one place.[102] The Buddhists and the Jains are said to be committing *piḻai* 'errors'.[103] Their words are said to be *kuṟṟa moḻi* 'defective words'[104] and their paths are said to be *kuṟṟa neṟi* 'defective paths'. The Buddhists are referred to as *cōṭaikaḷ* 'not fully developped beings'.[105] The second set of terms, like *pētamai* 'ignorance'[106] *pētaiyar*[107] and *pētaiyarkaḷ*[108] both meaning ignorant persons, refer to the immaturity and inadequate discriminating power of the Jains and the Buddhists.

But he also uses a number of expressions to reject the Jaina and the Buddhist teachings as lies and absurdities. He uses *peṉku* in one place to denote lies.[109] In other places, he uses the common expression *poy*[110]

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[96] TCT: 203, 435, 598. Tiru vaṭa kuraṅkāṭuṟai, Tiruccikkal and Tirumutukuṉṟam hymns.

[97] TCT: 684. Tiru Intiraṉīlapparuppatam hymn. *kaṭṭar kuṇṭamaṇ tērar.*

[98] TCT: 701. General hymn. *moṭṭamaṇar kaṭṭar tērar.*

[99] TCT: 532. Tiruvālavāy hymn.

[100] TCT: 69, 74, 102, 159, 192, 224, 245, 257, 511, 520, 526, 576, 616. The Jains were referred to on 69, 102, 159, 224, 520, 526, 576, 616.

[101] The Tirumaṟaikkāṭu hymn on 511 can either denote a separate group besides the Jains and the Buddhists or denote both together.

[102] TCT: 8. Tirunelvāyil hymn.

[103] TCT: 360, 439. Tiruvamparmākāḷam and Tiruttēvūr hymns.

[104] TCT: 52. Tiruppukali hymn.

[105] TCT: 180. Tirukkaṭampūr hymn.

[106] TCT: 13. Tirunallūrpperumaṇam hymn.

[107] TCT: 275. Tiru Āvūrppacupatīccaram hymn.

[108] TCT: 27. Tiruveṇkāṭu hymn.

[109] TCT: 95. Cīrkāḻi hymn.

[110] TCT: 91, 105, 186, 247, 307, 311, 341, 348, 360, 407, 475, 516, 574, 581, 616; *poykaḷ* in 582, 680.

and appellative nouns like *poyyar*[111], *poyyarkaḷ*[112] and *poyyavar*[113], each of them meaning liars. The word *poy* has been used fifteen times and its plural form of *poykaḷ* has been used twice. Except in one place in Tirukkōḷampam hymn where *poy* refers to the teachings of the Jains, it is used in common to refer to the teachings of both religions in the other sixteen places. Expressions like *poy nūl* 'book of lies'[114] and *poyyurai* 'discourse of lies'[115] are also used to refer to both religions. There is a compound *poyttavam* 'false penance'[116] which has been used three times. In the Tiruvēṭkaḷam hymn, it refers to both religions while in the other two cases, the Jains only are clearly referred to. The phrase *poytta vaṉ tava vēṭattar* 'those who falsely act as performing extreme penance'[117] also refers to the Jains only. The expression *kaitavam,* considered to be equivalent to *poyttavam,* occurs in two places.[118] While it refers to the Jains only in one place, it refers to both religions in the other place. The appellative noun 'kaittavattar' refers to the Jaina monks only.[119] The teachings of these religions have also been dismissed as *avam* 'useless'[120] and *avattam* 'absurd'.[121]

The Śaiva saint has used a number of expressions connected with the abstract noun *puṉmai* 'baseness'. For example, *puṉmai*[122], *puṉ moḻikaḷ* 'base words'[123] and *puṉ pēccu* 'base speech'[124] are some of them which refer to the teachings of both religions. There is an expression *puṉ tēraramaṇar* 'base Buddhist and Jaina monks'.[125] This clearly refers to the Buddhist monks but the Jaina monks could also have been referred to. But there are a number of expressions like *pullamaṇ*[126], *puṉ-camaṇ*[127] and *puṉ-camaṇar*[128] where only the Jaina monks are referred to. Closely

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[111] TCT: 235, 528, 541. Tiruvāṉaikkā, Tiruvālavāy and Tiruvāppanūr hymns.
[112] TCT: 254. Mēlaittirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi hymn.
[113] TCT: 58. Tiruppukali hymn.
[114] TCT: 572, 624. Tirukkoṭimāṭacceṅkuṉṟūr and Tirukkacciyēkampam hymns.
[115] TCT: 576, 584. Tirukkaruvūrāṉilai hymn.
[116] TCT: 6, 125, 233. Tiruvēṭkaḷam, Tirukkaḷumalam and Tiruvāṉaikkā hymns.
[117] TCT: 526. Tiruvālavāy hymn. *poytta vaṉ tava vēṭattarāṅ camaṇ cittarai.*
[118] TCT: 532, 665. Tiruvālavāy and Tiruvāṉmiyūr hymns.
[119] TCT: 415. Tiruppukalūr hymn.
[120] TCT: 568. Tirunelvēli hymn.
[121] TCT: 602. Tirukkōvalūr vīraṭṭam.
[122] TCT: 330. Tiru Ākkūrttāṉṟōṉṟimāṭam hymn.
[123] TCT: 129, 457. Tirukkaḷumalam and Tirukkuṭavāyil hymns.
[124] TCT: 461. Tirunālūr mayāṉam hymn.
[125] TCT: 334. Tirukkaṭavūr mayāṉam hymn.
[126] TCT: 373. Tiruvīḻimiḻalai hymn.
[127] TCT: 497, 616. Tirukkāṟāyil and Tiruvāmāttūr hymns.
[128] TCT: 584, 696. Tiruccōpuram and general hymns.

related in meaning to this set of words, there is the word *kaiyar* 'base people'.[129] Campantar uses the expression *kaiyil uṇṇum kaiyar* 'people eating from their hand' to distinguish the Jaina monks from the Buddhist monks who eat from the alms-bowl. Probably because of the association in form of the two words of *kai* with different meanings, Campantar has used *kaiyar* to refer to the Jains only in twenty-one places, while in one place in a Tiruvīḻimiḻalai hymn he has used it for both religions.

It is unfortunate that the dark skin of the Jaina monks has been pinpointed in many places. They might have acquired their pigmentation through sun tan by exposing themselves to warm sunlight, as suggested by *karukum uṭalār* 'those with sun-burnt bodies'.[130] There are expressions like *kār niṟatt-amaṇar* 'dark coloured Jains'[131], *nīlamēṉi amaṇar* 'Jains with blue bodies'[132] and *kaṅkular amaṇar* 'Jaina monks-men of night darkness'.[133] Probably as a development from the associations, there is the form *kāramaṇ* 'dark Jains or black Jains'.[134] As the Buddhist monks are excluded, it is difficult to believe that Campantar was referring to some labouring classes in South India who may be having darker skin.

Some more insulting terms can be noticed in Campantar's polemics. The word *pēykaḷ* 'ghosts or devils'[135] is applied to the Buddhists and maybe to the Ājīvakas also but not to the Jains. The word *kaḻukkaḷ* 'vultures'[136] occurs four times and in three places; it refers to the Jains only but in one place in Tirumaṟaikkāṭu hymn, it refers to both religions. The word *kalatikaḷ*, most probably meaning rebels[137], refers to the Jains in a Tiruvīḻimiḻalai hymn, to the Buddhists in a Tiruvārūr hymn and to both in Tiruvōmāmpuliyūr hymn. Campantar who has used *vēṭattār* 'those

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[129] TCT: 12, 48, 143, 145, 228, 235, 264, 301, 341, 343, 360, 365, 389, 407, 472, 509, 525, 526, 527, 529, 533, 703. Tiruvīḻimiḻalai hymn on 389.

[130] TCT: 595. Tirumutukuṉṟam hymn.

[131] TCT: 627.Tirukkaccinerikkāraikkāṭu hymn.

[132] TCT: 534. Tiruvālavāy hymn.

[133] TCT: 529, Tiruvālavāy hymn.

[134] TCT: 478, 486, 532, 634. Tiruvucāttāṉam, Tirukkōṭṭūr. Tiruvālavāy and Tiruvōttūr hymns.

[135] TCT: 644, 673. Tiruvilampayaṅkōṭṭūr and Tiruvacciṟupākkam hymns. 652, for Ājīvakar? Tirukkaḷḷil hymn.

[136] TCT: 235, 435, 468, 512. Tiruvāṉaikā, Tiruccikkal, Tirupparitiniyamam and Tirumaṟaikkāṭu hymns. *kaḻukkaiyar* as a compound of *kaḻu* and *kaiyar* occurs in a general hymn on 700. Here *kaḻu* seems to stand for *kaḻuku* of later Tamil. This is the only sense in which Campantar had used this word. It is not known whether this word denoted stake in Campantar's time.

[137] TCT: 173, 391, 448. Tiruvōmāmpuliyūr, Tiruvīḻimiḻalai and Tiruvārūr hymns.

who use make up', has shortened that as *vēṭar* in two places.[138] There was already *vēṭar* 'hunters' in classical Tamil. So, Campantar might have coined the new word due to his contempt for the Jains. The term *nīcar*[139] may denote uncultured people and it has been used to denote the Jains in a Tiruppukali hymn and in Tirumārpēṟu hymn. But in the other two instances from Tiruppuṟavam and Tirumaḻapāṭi hymns, it refers to both the Jains and the Buddhists. There is a variant form of *nīṭar* and it refers to the Buddhists.[140]

A set of terms associated with *miṇṭu* 'provoke' such as *miṇṭar* 'provocateurs'[141], miṇṭurai 'provocative discourse'[142] and miṇṭumoḻi 'provocative language'[143] has been used to refer to the monks of both religions. The word *kayavar* generally used to denote people lacking in human qualities has been used only once and it refers to the Buddhists.[144] The compound, *paḻi taru moḻiyiṉār* 'those who use insulting language' has been used to denote both religions.[145] The compound *paṭu paḻiyuṭaiyavar* 'those who have acquired big insult' also refers to both.[146] The term *pulaiyaṉār,* which seems to be connected with *pulaiyar,* the lowest caste on the social scale, has been applied to both religions.[147] The monks of both religions are also referred to as *kaḷḷattār* 'thieves'.[148] In a Tiruvālavāy hymn, Campantar refers to the Jains as *kacivoṉṟillā ccēṭṭaikaḷ* 'mischievous elements with no kindness'.[149] But he uses similar expressions like *parivoṉṟilārkaḷ* 'those who have no kindness'[150] and *urukucintaiy-illār* 'those whose minds do not melt'[151] to refer to the Buddhist monks.

The description of pittar 'mad persons'[152] had been used to refer to the

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[138] TCT: 10, 527. Tirukkaḻippālai and Tiruvālavāy hymns.
[139] TCT: 51, 87, 221, 638. Tiruppukali, Tiruppuṟavam, Tirumaḻapāṭi and Tirumārpēṟu hymns.
[140] TCT: 188. Tiruppaṉantāḷ hymn.
[141] TCT: 115, 210, 393, 404, 470. Tiruveṇkāṭu, Tiruvāñciyam and Tiruveṇṇiyūr hymns.
[142] TCT: 482. Tirukkaṭikkulam hymn.
[143] TCT: 27, 409, 470. Tiruveṇkāṭu, Tiruvāñciyam and Tiruveṇṇiyūr hymns.
[144] TCT: 360. Tiruvamparmākāḷam hymn.
[145] TCT: 87. Tiruppuṟavam hymn.
[146] TCT: 15. Tirumayēṇṭirappaḷḷi hymn.
[147] TCT: 46. Tiruvēṇupuram hymn. Here, Campantar seems to be vulnerable for accusation as having caste prejudice.
[148] TCT: 477. Tirucciṟṟēmam hymn.
[149] TCT: 525. Tiruvālavāy hymn.
[150] TCT: 40. Tiruppiramapuram hymn.
[151] TCT: 595. Tirumutukuṉṟam hymn.
[152] TCT: 307, 387, 576, 584. Tirukkōḻampam, Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, Tirukkaruvūrānilai and Tiruccōpuram hymns.

Jains in Tirukkōḷampam and Tiruvīḻimiḻalai hymns while it had been used to refer to both in Tirukkaruvūrāṉilai and Tiruccōpuram hymns. Uttering senseless words *pitaṟṟutal* is mentioned as the action of the former and the latter, respectively.[153] The word *piccar,* used to refer to the Buddhist monks, could be either a variant of pittar or a derivative from Sanskrit *bhikṣu.*[154] The term *ūmar* 'dumb persons', referring to the Jain monks, could have denoted those who had taken the vow of silence.[155] There is a set of terms derived from *pāvam* 'sin' like *pāvar* 'sinners'[156], *pāvikaḷ* 'sinners'[157] and *māpāvikaḷ* 'great sinners'.[158] Campantar addresses them as *pāvikaḷ* 'oh! sinners' in Tirukkāṉappēr hymn.[159] Of these forms, *pāvar* and *māpāvikaḷ* are found in Tiruvālavāy hymns and Campantar uses them in anger. The Tiruvalampuram hymn uses *pāvikaḷ* to refer to the Jains while Tiruvēṭṭakkuṭi and Tirukkuṭavāyil hymns uses the same word to refer to both religions.

Campantar uses a number of expressions about the Jains only during the heat of the confrontation in Madurai. They were said to be going about like monkeys and mad elephants.[160] The word *ettar* 'those who deceive and steal' had been found in Tiruvālavāy and Tirukkēṭīccaram hymns.[161] Though the Jains were not known to be very powerful in Ilaṅkai, he had used this word against the Jains only probably because his Madurai experience is still fresh in his memory. In the Tiruvālavāy hymns alone, terms like *īṉar* 'low caste or class of people'[162], *antakar* 'blind people'[163], *ekkar* 'cruel people'[164], *teṇṇar* 'ignorant people'[165], *aḻippar* 'destroyers'[166] and *tuṭṭar* 'evil people'[167] are found. There are also expressions about the Jains, not always directly connected with the confrontation in Madurai. The compound *moṭṭaiyamaṉ* 'bald headed Jains'[168] may be related to

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[153] TCT: 93, 275. Cīrkāḻi and Tiru Āvūrppacupatīccaram hymns.
[154] TCT: 148. Tiruppiramapuram hymn.
[155] TCT: 396. Tirunaṟaiyūrccittīccaram hymn.
[156] TCT: 527.
[157] TCT: 326, 336, 456. Tiruvalampuram, Tiruvēṭṭakkuṭi and Tirukkuṭavāyil hymns.
[158] TCT: 532.
[159] TCT: 557.
[160] TCT: 524. *mā katakkari pōl tirintu. manti pōl tirintu.*
[161] TCT: 520, 528.
[162] TCT: 524.
[163] TCT: 524.
[164] TCT: 525, 528.
[165] TCT: 526.
[166] TCT: 527.
[167] TCT: 528.
[168] TCT: 607. Tirumāṇikkuḻi hymn.

moṭṭamaṇar[169]. The expression *muraṭṭamaṇ* 'Jain ruffians'[170] may be related to *moṭṭamaṇ* and *moṭṭamaṇar.*[171] It is quite possible that *muṭṭai*[172] and *muṭṭaikaḷ*[173] also refer to bald-headedness.

In the religious confrontation in Campantar's time, the Jains and the Buddhists were attacking the Śaivites. It is interesting to see how the Śaiva saint was viewing these attacks. One of the expressions of Campantar is to call the attack *alar tūṟṟa* 'to scandalize'.[174] He also uses *puṟaṅ kūṟa* 'to back-bite or to slander' in many places.[175] There is another expression *puṟaṇurai* used both as a noun and as an infinitive.[176] It is equivalent to *puṟaṅkūṟutal* or to making meaningless utterance.

Even among religions that have accepted ahimsa or non-killing as their first precept, the Jains claim that they are the staunchest defenders of that principle, carrying their behavior to what normal human beings regard as an absurd extent. But in defence of their religion, they have exhibited violent behavior. Periapurāṇam details a number of instances. So, Campantar refers to the Jains as *vaṉ camaṇar* 'violent Jains'.[177] The compound *vallamaṇ* should be considered just as a variant.[178] There is an expression *vañcamaṇar* which could mean 'deceptive Jains'.[179] There is also another compound *vaṉ talai paṟi kkaiyar* where violence could also refer to plucking hair from their heads.[180]

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[169] TCT: 701. General hymn.
[170] TCT: 533.
[171] TCT: 284. Tirukkuṭamūkku hymn.
[172] TCT: 2. Kōyil hymn.
[173] TCT: 607. Tirumāṇikkuḻi hymn.
[174] TCT: 22, 62, 94, 270, 317, 328, 374, 431, 511, 616, 657. This usage had not been noticed in the hymns in the Pandya country, the home of 'Akattiṇai' tradition, as can be seen in the above instances found in Tiruccāykkāṭu, Tiruppukali–Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, Cīrkāḻi, Tirunallūr, Tirumayilāṭuturai, Tiruttalaiccaṅkāṭu, Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, Tirunākaikkārōṇam, Tirumaṟaikkāṭu, Tiruvāmāttūr and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr hymns.
[175] TCT: 35, 179, 431, 518, 541, 546, 553, 572, 696. The classical form had been noticed in hymns on shrines in the Cōḻa and Pandya countries besides Ilaṅkai and Koṅku region.
[176] TCT: 6, 79, 80, 272, 292, 309, 520. This form had been noticed in hymns on shrines in the Cōḻa country and Ilaṅkai only.
[177] TCT: 54, 208, 271, 552, 671. Tiruppukali, Tiruvaiyāru, Tiruvalañcuḻi, Tiruvirāmēccaram and Tirukkaḻukkuṉram hymns
[178] TCT: 219, 527. Tirumaḻapāṭi and Tiruvālavāy hymns.
[179] TCT: 261. Tiruvētikkuṭi hymn.
[180] TCT: 360. Tiruvamparmākāḷam hymn.

8. Some Specific Criticisms

It is important to note which important aspects of Jainism and Buddhism Campantar was specially objecting to. As for Buddhism, the following reference is important:

kuṇam aṟivukaḷ nilaiyila poruḷurai maruviya poruḷkaḷumila tiṇam eṉum avar 'Quality and knowledge are impermanent. Even things spoken of as having substance disappear. They who say that this is definite'.[181]

This is what is called *Kṣaṇikavāda* of the Buddhists. From this stand point, T. P. Meenaksisundaran has been able to suggest better readings or modifications to two expressions found as *kaṇicēr nōmpu*[182] and *kaṇikai nōṉpar*[183] in contexts which suggest that they must have been referring to the Buddhists. The importance of this principle in Buddhism and Campantar's objection to it also becomes clear in the verses dealing with Campantar's disputation with the Buddhists at Pōtimaṅkai.[184] This principle was propounded and rejected in that section.

There was also a common criticism against the Jains and a Buddhist sect. Like the Jains, the Vaibāṣika sect of Buddhism preferred to trace the beginnings of the world to atoms *parama aṇukkaḷ,* unlike the Hindus who postulated *māyai.* Campantar criticises them as *ārampar* 'those who begin with atoms'.[185] The Tamil expression can also refer to those at the primary stage. In his Tiruvaṇṇāmalai hymn, Campantar applies this designation to both the Jains and the Buddhists and appeals to the people of the world not to listen to their discourses.

In his Tirukkuṭantai kkārōṇam hymn, Campantar refers to the Jains as *kurattikaḷ pēṇār* 'they do not respect nuns'.[186] What is being referred to here seems to be the negative attitude of the Digambara Jaina sect to women. Nuns have to be reborn as men in their next life and become monks to attain salvation.

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[181] TCT: 402. Tiruccivapuram hymn.
[182] TCT: 120. Tirukkaḻumalam hymn.
[183] TCT: 58. Tiruppukali hymn. See Meenaksisundaran 1957: 120.
[184] Cēkkiḻār 1955: 362–364 for debate between the Śaivites and the Buddhists. Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti nāyaṉār Purṇam, verses 916–925.
[185] TCT: 618. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai hymn.
[186] TCT: 286. Tirukkuṭantaikkārōṇam hymn.

9. Four Tiruvālavāy Hymns

As already noted, every verse of four hymns on Tiruvālavāy deals with polemics against the Jains. An impression can be easily formed from a study of these hymns on what Campantar was blaming on the Jains, on what he was defending against the Jains and how he was trying to deal with them. According to Campantar, the Jaina monks were living in places, beginning from *Āṉaimāmalai* 'Elephant rock'.[187] Cēkkiḻār refers to them as *eṇ peruṅ kuṉṟatt-eṇṇā yiravar* 'eight thousand monks from eight hills'.

He also criticises them for some of their literary efforts and mentions *Kiḷi viruttam* 'The story of the parrot' and *Elippāṭṭu* 'The story of the rat'.[188] These works are not extant. Their content must have been something comparable to *Nari viruttam* 'The story of the fox' of the well known Tiruttakkatēvar, the author of the Jaina epic of *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* (Tiruttakkatēvar 1949: 24). These stories were generally expected to illustrate the impermanence of worldly pleasures. Campantar seems to refer to this method of Jaina preaching, which mentions *nakuvaṇa caritaikaḷ ceytuḻalvār* 'they wander narrating humorous stories' in his Tirutturutti – Tiruvēḷvikkuṭi hymn.[189]

There is a reference to the Jains as being satirical to poets, the exact significance of which is not clear. *pulavarkaḷai ppaḻikkum aṅkatarkkeḻiyēṉalēṉ* 'I am not scared of satirists who run-down poets'.[190] In Tamil, the word *pulavar* 'poet' is used in a wide sense. Here, Campantar could not be referring to authors of ethical works as poets as there were many Jaina authors among them. The poets could have been *Caṅkam* poets and the later poets following that tradition.

Religious difference seems to have led to a deep social cleavage in Tamilnadu. *niṟṟu mēṉiyarāyiṉar mēl uṟṟa kāṟṟu koḷḷavu nillā amaṇar* 'the Jaina monks who do not wait even to feel the air that touched the body of those with sacred ashes'.[191] According to Cēkkiḻār, the Jains had begun to use terms like *kaṇṭu muṭṭu* 'pain after having seen' and *kēṭṭu muṭṭu* 'pain after having heard' in their reference to the Śaivites (Cēkkiḻār 1955: 338–339).[192] So Campantar seems to feel that Tamil society has to be saved from adherents of such a religion.

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[187] TCT: 524.

[188] *kūṭṭiṉār kiḷiyiṉ viruttam uraittatōr eliyiṉ toḻiṟpāṭṭu.*

[189] TCT: 334.

[190] TCT: 525.

[191] TCT: 533.

[192] Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti nayaṉār Purāṇam, verses 683–684.

It is quite possible that Campantar's feelings towards the Jains could have reached the stage of hatred when the Jaina monks set fire to the Madurai muṭṭ where he was staying with other Śaiva devotees. There is one entire hymn in every verse of which he appeals to Śiva for protection and in every verse of which he expresses his wish that the flame lit by the Jains should go as high fever to the Pandya king who gave permission to the Jains to commit this outrage and sacrilege (Cēkkiḻār 1955: 340–341).[193] He uses many abusive and offensive epithets to refer to the Jaina monks and this is understandable in the context.In every verse of this hymn, he appeals to Śiva, using *añcal eṉṟ-aruḷ cey-eṉai* 'please grace me by saying 'do not be scared' or its shortened forms.[194]

There are also two Tiruvālavāy hymns which are in the form of Campantar seeking permission from Śiva for disputation with the Jaina monks.[195] The differences in the structure of the two relevant hymns is worthy of note.

The first hymn starts with *kāṭṭumāvatu.* The first verse gives the impression of Campantar talking to Śiva, *urai ceyvaṉāṉ* 'I appeal to you'. There are two references, critical of the Jains for not studying the Vedas and for not performing Vedic sacrifices.[196] There is another reference in the ninth verse complaining that they do not know the higher stage of heaven. Campantar believed that only those who were devoted to Śiva attained salvation and heaven. The third verse of this hymn has led to some controversy recently as there is an infinitive *karpaḻikka* 'to rape' and in the line above there is a reference to Buddhist monks covering their whole body like women. In the relevant portion, it only seems to imply the breaking or the destruction of the firm attachment of the Jains and the Buddhists to their own religions (Veluppillai 1980: 117–150).

The other hymn, beginning with *vēta vēḻviyai,* seems to have been artfully composed. That Campantar was trying to defend Vedic Śaivism against the Jains and the Buddhists becomes very clear from this hymn. Each of the ten verses tells Śiva, *ñālam niṉ pukaḻē mikavēṇṭum* 'Your fame should become predominant in the world'. What had been mentioned in two verses regarding the Vedic tradition in the earlier hymn had been expanded into seven references in the first seven verses of the hymn. The first line of this hymn itself starts seeking Śiva's permission to defeat the

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[193] Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti nāyaṉār Purāṇam, verses 703–704.

[194] 'añcal eṉṟ-aruḷ' in verse 6 and 'aruḷ' in verse 9.

[195] TCT: 526–527, 532–534.

[196] *vēṭṭu vēḻvi ceyyā amaṇ kaiyarai* in the first verse.
ōtiyōtt-aṟiyā amaṇ ātarai in the fourth verse.

Jains who condemn Vedic sacrifices. The same strain, condemning the Jains for not accepting the Vedic tradition as nonsense and seeking Śiva's permission has been repeated again in the following six verses and here it is clear defence of Brahmanism.[197] In verses nine and ten, Campantar was substituting references to the Jains who do not worship the sacred feet of Śiva and who do not understand the glories of Śiva. The first two verses of the hymn mention the Buddhists also along with the Jains.[198]

The twenty verses in these two hymns appeal to Śiva to make known to Campantar what He has in His Mind about debating with the Jains. The first hymn itself starts with *oṭṭi vātu ceyya tiruvuḷḷamē* inquiring whether Śiva's mind was agreeable to Campantar getting closer to the Jains and debating with them. The second verse in the second hymn repeats the same question, with only a change in the first word to eyti but with no change in meaning. The mention of the word, *vātu* 'debate' occurs also in the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth and the ninth verses of the first hymn and in all the verses of the second hymn. His anger with the Jains becomes clear where he expresses his wish to *cīṟi* and *ceṟuttu,* both meaning, with rage, to confront them in debate. He wants to defeat them only, as seen in expressions like *vātil veṉṟ-aḻikka* 'to win and destroy in debate' and *vātiṉil ceṇṭaṭitt-uḻara* implying smashing victory in debate. He wanted to win a complete victory in debate, as seen in *muṟiya vātu ceyat tiruvuḷḷamē.* He wanted to establish Śiva's glories among the Jains, as mentioned in *amaṇar tiṟattu niṉ cīlam vātu ceya.* Campantar wanted to proceed slowly and convince the Jains of the merits of Śaivism.[199]

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[197] *vēta vēḷviyai nintaṉai ceytu* ... Verse 1.
vaitikattiṉ vaḻiyoḻukāta ... Verse 2.
maṟai vaḷakkamilāta māpāvikaḷ ... Verse 3.
aṟuttav-aṅkam-āṟāyiṉa niṟmaiyai kkaṟutta ... Verse 4.
antaṇāḷar puriyum aru maṟai cintai ceyyā ... Verse 5.
vēṭṭu vēḷvi ceyum poruḷai viḷi mūṭṭu cintai ... Verse 6.
aḷal-at-ōmpum arumaṟaiyōr tiṟam viḷalatu ... Verse 7.

[198] *vēta vēḷviyai nintaṉai ceyt-uḷaḷ*
ātamillei amaṇoṭu tēṟarai ... Verse 1
vaitikattiṉvaḻi-y-oḻukāta-v-ak
kaitavamuṭai kkāramaṇ tēṟarai ... Verse 2.

[199] *paiya vātu ceyya ttiruvuḷḷamē* ... fifth verse of the first hymn on 527. *paiya* – slowly.

tēṟṟi vātu ceyya ttiruvuḷḷamē ... eighth verse of the second hymn on 534. *tēṟṟi* – convincingly.

10. Three Miracles

It is very unfortunate that even though Campantar's hymns promise so much in a fair debate, nothing about the actual debate has been preserved for posterity. Neither Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi nor Cēkkiḻār nor later authors seem to have come across any tradition about the arguments of the debate. The validity of Śaivism versus Jainism seems to have been decided in three tests where Campantar was able to clinch the issue by performing three miracles. The first test was curing the king's high fever. The Jains could not cure him. The Śaiva saint was using the sacred ashes from Tiruvālavāy temple as medicine: So an entire hymn was composed on praises of the sacred ashes of the temple.[200] The eleventh verse mentions clearly the context in which the hymn was composed.

The second miracle was a sort of fire ordeal in which the Śaivites and the Jains were to set some of their religious documents on fire and the document of the true religion was not expected to burn. According to Cēkkiḻār, this test was suggested by the Jains themselves (Cēkkiḻār 1955: 348).[201] The Jaina monks wrote a manuscript and set it on fire. It was completely burnt. Campantar took out a random sample from his hymns and the Tirunaḷḷāṟu hymn came out. Just before setting that manuscript into the fire, Campantar composed another hymn on the same shrine where he mentions the context of its composition in all the verses and says that the manuscript would not be destroyed. Because the hymn has the name of Śiva of Tirunaḷḷāṟu, it could not suffer destruction — a refrain found in each verse of that hymn.

The third test was a sort of water ordeal in which the manuscript of true religion was expected to swim against the current and to reach the other bank of the Vaiyai river. The Jaina monks took the initiative as they wanted to offset the losses they had already suffered twice. The Jains had *asti nāsti* 'yes-no', a basic principle of their Syādvāda philosophy, written in a manuscript and they put in the river (Cēkkiḻār 1955: 352).[202] This went with the current to the sea and so this could not be traced. Campantar composed a special hymn called *Tiruppācuram* of twelve verses.[203] This hymn, beginning with *vāḻka antaṇar vāṇavar āṉiṉam* 'Long live the Brahmins, the Devas and the cows' is generally hailed as consisting of the essence of Tamil Śaivism.

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[200] TCT: 522–523.
[201] Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti nāyaṉār Purāṇam, verse 777.
[202] Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti nāyaṉār Purāṇam, verse 814.
[203] TCT: 703–705.

According to Cēkkiḻār, Campantar went through a reluctant wedding ceremony at the request of his parents and relatives and immediately afterwards, Śiva sent a sacred fire to Tirunallūrpperumaṇam. At the bidding of Campantar, all those who came for the wedding entered the sacred fire. Campantar composed a hymn[204] and then entered the fire with his newly wedded wife. Putting this incident into the perspective of Campantar's hostile references to the Jains and the Buddhists, the burning of the Śaiva muṭṭ in Madurai by the Jains and the allegation of Campantar's involvement in the impalement of the Jains, some people now try to interpret the end of Campantar's life in this world as caused by arson by followers of these heretical religions. As there is no evidence for such an interpretation, one can only depend on the last hymn of Campantar. Campantar seems to be his usual self even in that hymn. There is nothing in that hymn to suggest that the Śaiva Saint was suspecting any conspiracy from the Jains or the Buddhists.

11. Conclusion

The primary source of Campantar's devotional hymns as well as the secondary source of Periyapurāṇam clearly establish the fact that Campantar's outbursts against the Jains and the Buddhists were one of the underlying themes throughout his career. Some other Śaiva saints and Vaiṣṇava saints also have some polemical references mainly against the Jains. The Jains were probably a greater threat to Hinduism than Buddhism. Campantar also seems to have disliked the Jains more than the Buddhists though he seems to have taken particular care to club them together with the Jains and others in many places. He seems to have started his career with a definite plan to establish Śaivism in Tamilnadu. The structure of his patikam or hymn had an unchanged outline from his first hymn to his last hymn.

He was actually defending a synthetic form of Hinduism which could be described as Tamil Vedic Paurāṇic Śaivism. Regarding the parallel development of Tamil Vaiṣṇavism, even during the period of the first four Āḻvārs, Friedhelm Hardy has the following observation, "However, although writing at the very fringe of Tamilnadu, the first four Āḻvārs are deeply Tamil, not only in their language, in their poetic style, in

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[204] TCT: 12–13; Cēkkiḻār 1955: 396, verse 1245.

their mythological repertoire and in their geographical references, but most pronouncedly in their emotional or sensuous worship of the temple *vigraha,* in which we can recognise the ancient anthropocentricity of the Tamils" (Hardy 1983: 308). Campantar is equally Tamil in his Śaivism. He seems to be very concious that he was only defending the Tamil religion. He seems to have made admirable use of Tamil nationalism in his confrontation with Jainism and Buddhism. It was probably the most important factor that favoured the success of the Śaiva bhakti movement.

Campantar was very proud of his caste and *gōtra* identities. He was able to bring out a synthesis of the interests of his caste along with those of Śaivism. The authority of Vedas and the dominance of the Brahmins seem to be essential ingredients of Śaivism, propagated by Campantar. Śiva's attributes and glories were heavily dependent on *Paurāṇic* themes. Those *Paurāṇic* or mythological stories were said to have taken place mostly in different parts of Tamilnadu.

The Śaiva saint might have owed his success in establishing Tamil Śaivism to his portrayal of the synthetic Śaivism in association with Tamil nationalism. The Jains and the Buddhists could not withstand the movement launched by Campantar. Islam and Christianity came to Tamilnadu later but still the main stream among the Tamils continues to be Śaivite. In the present century, there is a deep cleavage between Brahmin dominance and Tamil nationalism and it remains to be seen how much of Śaivism can be salvaged.

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